



University of Chester



This work has been submitted to ChesterRep – the University of Chester's
online research repository

<http://chesterrep.openrepository.com>

Author(s): Steven Cock

Title: The sportization of swimming: A sociological examination of the development
of swimming as a modern competitive sport, c.1595-1908

Date: April 2012

Originally published as: University of Chester PhD thesis

Example citation: Cock, S. (2012). *The sportization of swimming: A sociological
examination of the development of swimming as a modern competitive sport,
c.1595-1908*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Chester, United
Kingdom.

Version of item: Submitted version

Available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/10034/336563>

**The Sportization of Swimming:
A Sociological Examination of the Development of Swimming
as a Modern Competitive Sport, c.1595-1908**

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the
University of Chester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by Steven Cock

April 2012

The Sportization of Swimming: A Sociological Examination of the Development of Swimming as a Modern Competitive Sport, c.1595-1908

Steven Cock

Abstract

Modern competitive swimming is a highly structured, organized, codified and regulated sport. This has not always been the case. The aim of this thesis has been to examine the long-term development of competitive forms of swimming throughout the periods between the late sixteenth and early twentieth centuries. Despite some recent historical analyses, the emergence of swimming as a modern competitive sport is an under-researched topic. There are no sociological analyses relating to the development of competitive swimming and significant gaps within much historical research. This thesis has been conducted from a sociological perspective in order to test the relative adequacy of Norbert Elias's concept of sportization. Figurational sociologists have often examined the concept of sportization in relation to the development of contact sports such as boxing and rugby. Some authors have sought to criticize figurational sociologists for over-emphasizing issues relating to the increasing control of violence when examining the development of such activities. In this manner, there is scope to contribute to existing empirical and theoretical knowledge by testing the relative adequacy of the concept of sportization in relation to the long-term development of the predominantly non-contact sport of competitive swimming. To this end, data have been examined from a range of documentary sources. Various swimming-based texts, treatises, periodicals and magazines were examined at the British Library and Colindale Newspaper Library in London. The original minute books of the Amateur Swimming Association and its predecessor bodies have also been analyzed. In addition, a range of digitized source material has been examined from several electronic databases.

It has been argued that the development of modern competitive swimming was an unplanned and unintended outcome resulting from the complex interweaving of wider social processes in England throughout the periods between the Middle-Ages and the early twentieth century. The earliest reported swimming contests took place in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the form of a cash wager between two or more individuals. These events were less structured and regulated than modern forms of competitive swimming. Betting upon the outcome of such events was deemed to be an appropriate means to experience heightened levels of tension-excitement within the context of an emerging society in which people were increasingly expected to demonstrate greater self-control over their behaviour and emotions. More organized forms of competitive swimming gradually emerged during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The emergence of an increasingly complex network of clubs, societies and associations at local, county, district and national levels facilitated such developments and contributed to the emergence of standardized rules and regulations within the emerging sport of swimming. Such developments have been explained in relation to ongoing processes of state-formation, pacification, lengthening chains of interdependence and a gradual lowering in the threshold of repugnance within England in the period between the Middle-Ages and the early twentieth century. In this manner, it has been argued that the concept of sportization is an appropriate theoretical framework for explaining the long-term development of the modern non-contact sport of competitive swimming.

Table of Contents

Title Page	i
Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	ix
List of Abbreviations	x
Acknowledgements	xi
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Research Problem	2
1.2 Clarification of the Research Problem: Parameters and Terminology	2
1.3 Rationale	4
1.3.1 On the History of Sport	5
1.3.2 On the History of Swimming	7
1.3.3 Towards a Sociological Rationale	13
1.4 Structure of the Thesis	14
Chapter 2: Literature Review: Theories of the Development of Modern Sports	17
2.1 Introduction	17
2.2 Marxism	17
2.2.1 Critical Marxism	17
2.2.2 Critique of Critical Marxist Explanations	20
2.2.3 Hegemony Theory	21
2.2.4 Critique of Hegemonic Explanations	25
2.3 Feminism	26
2.3.1 Feminist Explanation	27
2.3.2 Critique of Feminist Explanations	30
2.4 Figurational Sociology	32
2.4.1 Figurational Explanation	33
2.4.2 Critique of Figurational Explanations	38

Chapter 3: Figural Sociology	41
3.1 Introduction	41
3.2 Interdependence	41
3.3 Power	42
3.4 Figurations	44
3.5 Unintended Consequences	45
3.6 Blind Social Processes	46
Chapter 4: Methods	49
4.1 Introduction	49
4.2 Ontology, Epistemology and the Figural Approach to Knowledge	49
4.2.1 Involvement and Detachment	51
4.2.2 Quantitative and Qualitative Research	53
4.2.3 Deductive and Inductive Research	55
4.3 Research Method: Documentary Analysis	56
4.3.1 Archives and Repositories	57
4.3.2 Electronic Data Sources	59
4.4 Data Analysis	68
4.4.1 Thematic Analysis	68
4.4.2 Quality Control Criteria	73
Chapter 5: The Emergence of Swimming-Based Wagers, c.1595-1830s	79
5.1 Introduction	79
5.2 Swimming During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries	79
5.3 Swimming During the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries	81
5.3.1 The Emergence of Swimming-Based Wagers, c.1760s-1830s	82
5.3.2 The Social Status of Competitors	88
5.3.3 Outdoor Locations and the Risk of Drowning	89
5.3.4 Swimming and the Seasons	91
5.3.5 Early Styles of Swimming	92
5.4 Towards a Typology of Early Swimming-Based Wagers	100

Chapter 6: The Incipient Modernization of Swimming-Based Competitions,	103
c.1830s-1860s	
6.1 Introduction	103
6.2 The Emergence of Early Swimming-Based Societies	103
6.3 Increasing Diversity in Competition-Based Swimming, c.1840s-1860s	112
6.3.1 The Increasing Provision of Public Baths	113
6.3.2 Societies, Clubs and Associations	117
6.3.3 Emerging Notions of Amateurism and Professionalism	121
6.4 Swimming-Based Competitions, c.1840s-1860s	124
6.4.1 Increasing Variety in Swimming-Based Competitions	126
6.4.2 Breaststroke, Sidestroke and Swimming on the Back	128
6.4.3 Towards Greater Organization in Swimming-Based Competitions	130
6.5 Processes of Incipient Modernization, c.1830s-1860s	132
Chapter 7: Towards the Emergence of the Amateur Swimming Association,	134
c.1869-1886	
7.1 Introduction	134
7.2 Towards a Swimming Congress	134
7.3 The Emergence of a Centralized Governing Body	135
7.4 The Emergence of Amateur Championships	143
7.5 The Laws of Amateur Swimming	146
7.5.1 Laws Governing the Amateur/Professional Distinction	147
7.5.2 Amateur Laws and the Amateur Schism	159
7.5.3 Laws Governing Competitive Events	163
7.6 Emergence of the Overhand Stroke	173
7.7 The Predecessor Bodies of the ASA, c.1869-1886	176
Chapter 8: Towards the Emergence of Modern Competitive Swimming,	178
c.1886-1908	
8.1 Introduction	178
8.2 The Emergence of District Associations	178
8.3 Hierarchical Interdependence at National, District, County and Local Levels	188
8.4 Competitive Swimming in the Early 1900s	208
8.4.1 Laws of the Sport	209

8.4.2	The Emergence of Female Competitors	214
8.4.3	Breaststroke, Backstroke and the Emergence of the Crawl	222
8.5	The Emergence of FINA	235
Chapter 9: Conclusion		239
9.1	Response to the Research Objectives: Summary of Findings	239
9.2	The Sportization of Swimming: A Summary	240
9.3	Reflections on the Sportization of Swimming	245
9.4	Limitations and Areas for Further Research	247
References		251
Appendices		269
Appendix A: 19 th Century British Library Newspapers: Part One		270
Appendix B: 19 th Century British Library Newspapers: Part Two		272
Appendix C: 19 th Century UK Periodicals: New Readerships		277

List of Tables

Table 4.1:	Advanced Searches in <i>Eighteenth Century Collections Online</i> for Early Swimming Races (Conducted January 2011)	62
Table 4.2:	Advanced Searches in <i>Eighteenth Century Collections Online</i> for Early Forms of Competitive Swimming (Conducted January 2011)	63
Table 4.3:	Advanced Searches in <i>Gale Newsvault</i> for Competitive Swimming Prior to 1869 (Conducted January 2011)	65
Table 4.4:	Advanced Searches in <i>Gale Newsvault</i> for the Emergence of a Swimming Congress, c.1868-1869 (Conducted January 2011)	66
Table 4.5:	Advanced Searches in <i>Gale Newsvault</i> for the ASA, PSA and ASU (Conducted January 2011)	67
Table 4.6:	Advanced Searches in <i>Gale Newsvault</i> for the Laws of Amateur Swimming (Conducted December 2010)	67
Table 4.7:	Thematic Framework for Analyzing the Sportization of Swimming	71
Table 5.1:	Reports of Swimming-Based Wagers, c.1766-1834	83
Table 5.2:	Contemporary Descriptions of Breaststroke Arm and Leg Actions, c.1595-1833	96
Table 5.3:	The Characteristics of Early Swimming-Based Wagers and Modern Competitive Swimming	101
Table 6.1:	Local Competitions for Silver Medals Distributed by the NSS	109
Table 6.2:	Swimming and Bathing Locations in London, 1861	114
Table 6.3:	Swimming and Bathing Locations in London, 1870	115
Table 6.4:	Known Venues for Competitive Events held by Swimming Societies, Clubs and Associations in England, c.1830s-1860s	118
Table 7.1:	List of Clubs Affiliated to the MSA/SAGB in 1873 and 1874 in comparison to other Non-Affiliated Clubs from England referred to in the <i>Swimming, Rowing and Athletic Record/Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events</i> , c.1873/1874	138
Table 7.2:	Clubs Affiliated to the SAGB, c.1885/1886	142
Table 7.3:	Amateur Championship Events in 1882	145
Table 7.4:	Regulations against Fouling within the Laws of Amateur Swimming	169
Table 8.1:	Attendance at the Annual Meetings of the ASA, 1894-1901	187

Table 8.2:	Number of Public Baths Facilities in England, 1902	190
Table 8.3:	ASA Five-District Scheme	200
Table 8.4:	ASA National Championships (Swimming), 1908	202
Table 8.5:	ASA District Championships (Swimming), 1908	205
Table 8.6:	County Championships (Swimming) in the North-Eastern District, 1908	206
Table 8.7:	County Championships (Swimming) in the Western District, 1908	207
Table 8.8:	Local Centre Championships (Swimming) in the Southern District, 1908	207
Table 8.9:	Recognized Distances for Amateur Records in England, c.1903	212
Table 8.10:	List of Known Ladies Swimming Clubs and Clubs with Ladies Sections/Members in 1895 and 1898-1899	218
Table 8.11:	National, District and County Events for Female Swimmers, c.1908	221
Table 8.12:	Foreign Winners of ASA National Championships, c.1897-1908	226
Table 8.13:	Breast Swimming and Back Swimming Events, c.1908	228
Table 8.14:	Recognized Distances for World Records, 1908	236

List of Figures

Figure 8.1:	Number of Clubs Affiliated to the ASA, 1890-1908	192
Figure 8.2:	Competitive Swimming in England, c.1908	201

List of Abbreviations

AAA	Amateur Athletic Association
AGM	Annual General Meeting
AMSC	Associated Metropolitan Swimming Clubs
ASA	Amateur Swimming Association
ASU	Amateur Swimming Union
BSS	British Swimming Society
BU	Bicycle Union
FA	Football Association
FINA	Fédération Internationale de Natation Amateur
LEN	Ligue Europeenne de Natation
LSA	London Swimming Association
MCASA	Midland Counties Amateur Swimming Association
MSA	Metropolitan Swimming Association
NCASA	Northern Counties Amateur Swimming Association
NECASA	North-Eastern Counties Amateur Swimming Association
NGB	National Governing Body
NSS	National Swimming Society
PSA	Professional Swimming Association
RFU	Rugby Football Union
SAGB	Swimming Association of Great Britain
SCASA	Southern Counties Amateur Swimming Association
WCASA	Western Counties Amateur Swimming Association

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to Daniel Bloyce, my supervisor, for his continued advice and encouragement over these past years and particularly for his extensive and challenging comments on my work throughout this research process.

I would also like to thank the other members of my supervision team – Kevin Lamb, Andy Smith and Ian Pritchard – for their comments and advice at various stages of the research process.

I must also express my thanks to other members of staff within the Department of Sport and Exercise Science at the University of Chester. In particular, I would like to thank the Head of Department, Ken Green, for the various academic opportunities that have been made available through the Department over the previous years.

I would also like to thank the staff at the various library and archive facilities that were visited during the course of this research. I am particularly grateful to Wendy Coles at the Amateur Swimming Association for granting access to their archives.

Finally, I am also grateful to my family and friends for their constant support and encouragement throughout the years that I have been conducting this research.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Thousands of athletes will shortly travel to London in order to represent their nations at the Olympic and Paralympic Games of 2012. Competitive swimming is one of the main sports in the modern Olympic programme. The ten-kilometre open-water swimming events for men and women are both due to be held in the Serpentine Lake in Hyde Park. However, the majority of swimming events will take place in the purpose-built London Aquatics Centre. The programme of events will include races for men and women over various distances, using the four designated racing strokes of freestyle, backstroke, breaststroke and butterfly.¹ All such events will take place under the rules and regulations of the international governing body of competitive swimming, the Fédération Internationale de Natation Amateur (FINA). These arrangements for the London Olympics can be used in order to demonstrate that modern competitive swimming is a highly structured, standardized, codified and regulated sport. Today, all competitive events take place within a confined and measured course and over a precise and specified distance. Competitors are timed and records are maintained of results and performances. All competitors are subject to the same standardized competition laws. In other words, the laws that are implemented at international level are also enforced at all other levels of competition. Competitors are required to utilize the correct swimming stroke, or combination of strokes, within each race. In addition, designated officials are appointed in order to oversee competitive events, implement the laws of the sport and enforce penalties in those instances when competitors have breached the rules and regulations.

Competitive swimming has not always been such an organized activity. Indeed, modern competitive swimming is descended from earlier antecedent swimming contests that emerged in England in the periods between the late sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It will be argued during the course of this thesis that these antecedent contests were relatively unstructured in comparison to modern competitive swimming. Such events took place on a sporadic basis, between small numbers of people, often for the terms of a cash wager. These early swimming-based wagers took place in natural outdoor locations over courses that were not marked-out, confined or measured. The rules underpinning such events were limited and often varied from one event to another.

¹ See London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games Limited (c.2007-2012) for a full list of events.

Competitors were generally permitted to use any style of swimming within these earlier events. It is the long-term transition from these earlier wagers to the emergence of swimming as an increasingly structured and organized sport that will be examined during the course of this investigation. The research problem within this thesis will be outlined and clarified in greater detail below and the rationale for conducting such research will be explained. In addition, the underpinning structure of this thesis will be described.

1.1 Research Problem

The research problem is to investigate from a sociological perspective the relative adequacy of Elias's (1986a) concept of sportization as a possible explanation for the gradual emergence and development of swimming as a competitive sport in England in the period between 1595 and 1908. The objectives in order to undertake this task are: (a) to examine the emergence of earlier swimming-based competitions in the period between the late sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries; (b) to examine the developments that occurred as earlier competition-based forms of swimming gradually became more structured, standardized, codified and regulated during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; and (c) to test the relative adequacy of the concept of sportization as a possible explanation for the developments and/or trends that are identified.

1.2 Clarification of the Research Problem: Parameters and Terminology

There are various points relating to the parameters of the research problem and the terminology within this thesis that require further clarification. It is first important to indicate that the concept of sportization is a theoretical explanation that is utilized by figurational sociologists in order to describe the:

process in the course of which the rules of sports came more and more to be written down, nationally (subsequently internationally) standardized, more explicit, more precise, more comprehensive, orientated around an ethos of 'fair play' and providing equal chances for all participants to win, and with reducing and/or more strictly controlling opportunities for violent physical contact (Dunning, Malcolm and Waddington, 2004a, p.9).

Figurational sociologists have explained such developments in relation to the complex interweaving of long-term civilizing processes in England in the periods between the Middle-Ages and the early twentieth century (Elias, 1986a, 2000). This theoretical argument has been examined in greater detail in the review of sociological literature that follows this Introduction. For present purposes, it is sufficient to appreciate that the term 'civilizing process' will be utilized within this thesis as a 'value-neutral, technical term' in the manner advocated by Elias and other figurational sociologists (Curry, Dunning and Sheard, 2006, p.121).

This investigation is based upon the emergence and development of the racing format of competitive swimming. This does not include the emergence of other activities such as diving, water polo or synchronized swimming. However, there is a widespread tendency for people to utilize the generic term 'swimming' in order to refer to a range of activities. For example, many people often claim to be going 'swimming' when they are: (a) learning to swim; (b) going to their local pool in order to amuse themselves with beach balls, wave machines, water chutes or foam mats; (c) engaged in activities that are more akin to bathing or paddling; (d) swimming lengths as a means of recreation or fitness; and (e) referring to competitive events that take place at international, national, district, county and club levels. In other words, the term 'swimming' is too broad to be used as a general phrase and as a technical term. Consequently, the term 'swimming' will be utilized throughout this thesis in order to describe broader activities that are not related to elements of competition. Alternative phrases will be used in order to describe the occurrence of competitive events. Importantly, the term 'competitive swimming' will be utilized in order to describe the structured, organized and rule-bound sport of 'modern swimming' that is quite different from earlier antecedent swimming contests, which often took place on a more sporadic and less structured basis. Instead, these earlier antecedent contests will be described as 'swimming-based' or 'competition-based' and this distinction will also be drawn, where necessary, through reference to the 'emerging sport' of swimming.

There is general consensus amongst historians that the gradual emergence of competitive swimming can be linked to developments that occurred in England during the nineteenth century (see Colwin, 1992, 2002; Fox, 2003; Keil and Wix, 1996; Love, 2003; Oppenheim, 1970; Wilkie and Juba. 1986). When describing the concept of sportization, figurational sociologists have also indicated that swimming was an

emerging sport that gradually became more standardized and organized in England during the nineteenth century (Dunning, 2002; Dunning et al., 2004a). The aim of this thesis is to examine the sportization rather than the diffusion of competitive swimming. Of course, the two are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, they are interrelated social processes. But as Malcolm (2005, p.117; original emphasis) has argued, ‘the process of *diffusion* is historically separate, and analytically distinct, from the *emergence* and *codification* of modern sports’. Consequently, the spatial parameters of this investigation are confined to those developments that contributed to the initial emergence and codification of swimming within England, as an integral aspect of the long-term sportization of that activity.

The temporal parameters of this investigation incorporate the long-term development of swimming as a modern competitive sport throughout the periods between 1595 and 1908. Figurational sociologists contend that it is important to adopt a long-term developmental perspective in order to provide a more adequate basis to examine unintended and blind social processes, such as the development of modern sports, within and throughout the wider social network (van Krieken, 1998). The earliest references to swimming in England unearthed during the course of this investigation were dated 1595. The processes that contributed to the long-term sportization of swimming were subsequently examined throughout the intervening period to 1908. This was the year in which FINA was established as the international governing body. Its formation was indicative of a gradual shift in the balance of power between national and international levels, as further decisions regarding the rules and structure of the sport increasingly took place at international level. It will be argued that swimming was recognizable as a modern competitive sport by this point. The year 1908 thus provides an appropriate cut-off point for this investigation.

1.3 Rationale

The rationale for conducting sociological research in order to examine the development of swimming as a modern competitive sport must be outlined in relation to the state of existing knowledge within this topic area. To date, existing research relating to the development of competitive swimming has been conducted from a historical rather than a sociological perspective.

1.3.1 On the History of Sport

The relationship between historians and sociologists has often provided an important basis for critique and debate between their proponents within the academic sub-disciplines of sport (Malcolm, 2008). In this manner, historians have made important contributions towards current understandings of the emergence of different sport and leisure activities during the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, historians have often described the developments within different sports in relation to underlying themes such as industrialization, urbanization, social class, commercialization, religion, the increasing acceptance of scientific forms of thought, technological developments, improvements in transport and a gradual increase in the amount of available leisure time for larger sections of the populace (see, for example, Bailey, 1978; Birley, 1993, 1995; Brailsford, 1991, 1992; Guttmann, 1978, 2000; Harris, 1975; Holt, 1989; Huggins, 2004; Hutchinson, 1996; Tranter, 1998; Vamplew, 1988; Wigglesworth, 1996, 2007). Yet it is important to appreciate that historians have not utilized these underlying themes in order to formulate a more overt explanation for the development of modern sports. Indeed, many historians have often been critical of those who utilize theoretical explanations, claiming that the adoption of a theoretical perspective can lead and prejudice the research process (Jordanova, 2000; Polley, 2007). Instead, many historians have preferred to focus their analyses upon the content of empirical source material, which has often contributed towards a more overt empiricist approach within much historical literature.

Despite such criticisms levelled towards those who adopt an overt theoretical perspective, it would be mistaken to claim that historical research is somehow devoid of all forms of theoretical thought (Dunning, Maguire and Pearton, 1993; Elias, 2006; Malcolm, 2008). The adoption of a chronological time frame and the use of underlying social themes in order to structure and make sense of empirical data are indicative of a basic theoretical underpinning within much historical literature. Nevertheless, historians do tend to operate at a lower level of theoretical abstraction than sociologists (Dunning et al., 1993). This is consistent with the prevailing empiricist standpoint amongst many historians. Elias (2006) has argued that the prevailing trend towards empiricism within much historical literature has contributed to a concomitant tendency for many historians to focus upon the actions of prominent individuals in order to describe different historical events. This has contributed, he argues, to the emergence of a dichotomy within much historical research between individual people and wider social

developments. In this manner, many historians have often viewed wider social developments as little more than an ‘unstructured background’ to the actions of individual people (Elias, 2006, p.29). These tendencies towards historical empiricism and reductionism are problematic and serve to limit the potential explanatory power of much historical research. For example, Elias (2006, p.6) has argued that:

history often looks like an accumulation of discrete actions by individual people. Because the level on which people are interconnected and interdependent... usually lies beyond or, at best, in the margins of the traditional field of historical study, the isolated, unrepeated data placed at the centre of such studies lack any systematic or verifiable framework of reference. The connections between particular phenomena are often left to arbitrary interpretation and speculation. This is why history, as currently understood, provides no real continuity of research. Ideas about the connections between events come and go. But in the end, one seems just as correct and just as unprovable as another.

The adoption of a sociological perspective can provide a basis to overcome many of the problems that are inherent within much historical research. In particular, the process of testing theoretical explanations can provide a more stable basis for sociologists to build upon existing knowledge in order to explain social developments such as the emergence of modern sports (Elias, 2006). Consequently, various theoretical explanations for the development of modern sports have been examined in a review of sociological literature that follows this chapter. Historians would claim that abstract sociological arguments and theoretical perspectives often lead and prejudice the research process. It will be acknowledged in the following chapter that some sociologists have provided theoretical explanations for the development of modern sports on the basis of limited and selective empirical evidence. But not all sociologists have adopted such high levels of theoretical abstraction. For example, figurational sociologists advocate the collection of empirical data in order to test and, where necessary, develop and/or revise existing theoretical knowledge (Bloyce, 2004a). Indeed, it will be argued that a figurational approach appears to provide a more adequate basis to overcome many of the theoretical and conceptual problems that are evident in the work of other sociologists. For present purposes, it can also be argued that the figurational approach appears to provide a basis to overcome the empiricism and reductionism that is evident in the work of many historians. For example, it will be argued in subsequent chapters that figurational

sociologists have utilized the concept of ‘figuration’ in an effort to overcome the individual/society dichotomy that is evident in much historical research. Moreover, the process of testing and refining theoretical explanations through empirical investigation also appears to provide a more stable basis for figurational sociologists to build upon existing knowledge (Elias, 2006). Given the limitations that are evident within many other sociological and historical approaches, the potential benefits of utilizing a figurational perspective underpinned the decision to test the relative adequacy of the concept of sportization within this investigation.

1.3.2 On the History of Swimming

Various authors have argued over the last few decades that there is a relative lack of research relating to the history of swimming (see Mason, 1989; Holt, 1996; Love, 2007a). Swimming has been an under-researched activity for many decades and there remains a distinct lack of sociological research on the development of swimming. However, there has been a notable increase in recent years in the amount of historical literature relating to swimming. For example, there have been recent narrative accounts of individuals such as Matthew Webb and Gertrude Ederle who were the first man and woman to swim across the English Channel in 1875 and 1926 respectively (see Mortimer, 2008; Stout, 2009; Watson, 2000). The provision of swimming baths in countries such as England and America is another emerging topic of historical investigation (see Gordon and Inglis, 2009; Love, 2007b, 2007c; Parker, 2000; J. Smith, 2005; van Leeuwen, 1998; Wiltse, 2007). Some authors have started to examine aspects relating to the history of competitive swimming in countries such as Scotland and Australia during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see Bilsborough, 2000; Light and Rockwell, 2005; Osmond, 2009; Phillips, 2008). Swimming has also been examined within recent historical analyses relating to the emergence of coaching techniques and practices during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see Day, 2008, 2010). Some historians have sought to examine the gradual trend towards greater female participation in swimming as a recreational and competitive activity during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see Love, 2003, 2007d; Parker, 2003, 2010). There is an increasing range of literature relating to the history of swimming as a more general activity amongst different groups (see Love 2007e, 2007f, 2007g, 2007h, 2007i; Orme, 1983; Sprawson, 1992; Torney, 1950; Wilkie and Juba, 1986; Winterton and Parker, 2009). In addition, there is an increasing range of literature relating to the history of competitive swimming and/or the development of swimming strokes and

techniques (see Armbruster, Allen and Billingsley, 1968; Cameron, 1990; Carlile, 1963; Colwin, 1992, 2002; Day, 2008; Fox, 2003; Gonsalves and LaMondia, 1999; Keil and Wix, 1996; Love, 2003, 2007j, 2007k; Oppenheim, 1970; Osmond, 2005; Osmond and Phillips, 2004, 2006; Parker, 2001, 2003; Terret, 1995; Wilkie and Juba, 1986). On this basis, it is evident that the history of swimming is an area of increasing interest to many authors. But, in accordance with much historical research relating to other sports and pastimes, there is no overt historical explanation for the development of swimming as a modern competitive sport. Consequently, it is important to examine the state of existing knowledge within this research area.

The history of swimming prior to the nineteenth century has received limited attention within existing literature, with Orme (1983) providing the most detailed account of swimming in Britain during the Middle-Ages (c.1066-1500) and the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Swimming was advocated within some contemporary texts and treatises throughout these periods as a skill that might prove to be useful for military purposes. In addition, Orme (1983) has indicated that from the sixteenth century some authors increasingly advocated swimming as a practical skill to lessen the risk of drowning and for reasons relating to health, cleanliness, pleasure and enjoyment. But despite increasing references to swimming within contemporary literature, swimming remained a relatively minor activity during the Middle-Ages and the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Orme (1983) has also argued that people do not appear to have engaged in swimming-based competitions during these periods. Such claims must be assessed during the course of this investigation.

The history of swimming in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is an area that has been overlooked or ignored within much existing research. Some authors have claimed that there is evidence that swimming-based competitions occasionally took place during these periods (see Love, 2003; Parker, 2001; Wilkie and Juba, 1986). Wilkie and Juba (1986) do not provide any evidence or cite any source material in order to substantiate their claim. Love (2003) has cited three contemporary newspaper reports from 1791, 1805 and 1810 in order to indicate that some swimming races were known to have taken place during these periods. Love (2003) has also utilized these examples to indicate that gambling was a feature of such events, but has not sought to examine any of the other possible characteristics of these early swimming-based competitions. Parker (2001) has also claimed that a swimming race was known to have taken place in

Liverpool in 1827, but cited corresponding evidence from material that was published almost half a century later in 1875. The lack of attention within much existing research to the practice of swimming and the occurrence of early swimming-based competitions during these periods is problematic and serves to limit a more detailed understanding of the long-term development of swimming as a modern competitive sport. There is both scope and necessity to undertake a more detailed examination of the types of swimming-based competitions that appear to have taken place in some instances during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The failure of many authors to examine swimming in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has contributed to a significant gap within much historical literature. Indeed, many authors have often started their overview of the development of competitive swimming by referring to contests that took place under the jurisdiction of a National Swimming Society (NSS) that had been established in London in the late 1830s (see Colwin, 1992; 2002; Fox, 2003; Keil and Wix, 1996; Oppenheim, 1970). However, such authors have only referred to the activities of the NSS rather briefly and in passing. Terret (1995) and Love (2003) have argued in greater detail that members of the NSS taught people how to swim and arranged swimming-based competitions in various towns and cities throughout Britain during the late 1830s and early 1840s. However, the NSS ceased to exist at some point during the mid-nineteenth century (Love, 2003). Love (2003) contends that other swimming clubs and societies were established in subsequent decades, but his examination of such developments remains somewhat brief. In particular, there is little available evidence to indicate what types of competitive events might have taken place under the auspices of such groups. However, it was not only clubs and societies that arranged swimming-based competitions during these periods. Terret (1995) and Love (2003) have also indicated that professional swimmers were employed within many of the public baths that were gradually being built following the introduction of the *Public Baths and Washhouses Act, 1846*. Professional swimmers, they argue, were expected to teach swimming to members of the public, but were also known to take part in swimming-based competitions and to arrange swimming entertainments in order to enhance their earnings and bolster their reputations. These entertainments often included races within the programme of events. Nevertheless, the occurrence of swimming-based races and the emergence of larger numbers of clubs and societies in the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s remains a topic that has

been overlooked within many existing analyses and is another area that requires further examination than has currently been undertaken within much existing literature.

Several authors have examined the emergence of the predecessor bodies of the Amateur Swimming Association (ASA) from 7 January 1869 (see Keil and Wix, 1996; Love, 2003, 2007j, 2007k; Parker, 2003). Such authors have examined contemporary debates over amateurism and professionalism in relation to the issue of social class and have often argued that the formation of rules governing the amateur/professional status of competitors was integral to such debates. Throughout most of the period between the 1870s and mid-1880s the predecessor body of the ASA was known as the Swimming Association of Great Britain (SAGB). Such authors have argued that disputes over the amateur/professional status of competitors contributed to the secession of numerous clubs from the SAGB and the formation of a rival Amateur Swimming Union (ASU) in 1884. The settlement of these disputes eventually led to the amalgamation of the SAGB and ASU through the formation of the ASA in 1886. In accordance with the gradual emergence of the ASA as the national governing body (NGB) of competitive swimming in England, several authors have also referred to the emergence of recognized national championships under the jurisdiction of the ASA and its predecessor bodies from 1869 onwards (Keil and Wix, 1996; Love, 2003; Parker, 2003). Such authors have also examined the gradual trend towards greater levels of organization within the emerging sport of swimming in accordance with the emergence of district associations under the jurisdiction of the ASA for the northern, midland and southern counties of England in the late nineteenth century (Keil and Wix, 1996; Love, 2003; Parker, 2003).

The formation of the ASA and its predecessor bodies in the period between 1869 and the early twentieth century has been examined in greater detail than many other topics within existing research. Nevertheless, there are themes from this period that seem to have been overlooked or ignored by many authors to date. For example, various authors have analyzed the introduction of amateur/professional laws during these periods, but the introduction of standardized racing laws is a topic that other authors have failed to address. This is a notable oversight within existing literature, which serves to limit the extent to which it is possible to understand the long-term development of swimming as a modern competitive sport. The power-struggles that contributed to the emergence of greater hierarchical interdependence between different groups operating at national, district, county and club levels within England is another under-researched area. Some

authors have examined the emergence of district associations under the jurisdiction of the ASA in the late nineteenth century, but the same authors provide only passing comment upon the decision to increase the number of district associations in the early twentieth century (see Keil and Wix, 1996; Love, 2003; Parker, 2003). The emergence of recognized county associations below district level is another topic that has been largely ignored within much existing literature. Cameron (1990) has indicated that some county associations were known to be operating during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Given that modern competitive swimming is based upon a complex framework of events at national, regional, county and club levels within England, it is important to examine the range of interweaving processes that contributed to the gradual emergence of this complex network in order to provide a more adequate basis to understand the long-term development of swimming as an increasingly structured and organized modern competitive sport.

The emergence of recognized and rule-bound racing strokes was an integral aspect in the long-term development of swimming as a modern competitive sport. Numerous authors have examined the ongoing development of swimming strokes and techniques during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see Armbruster et al., 1968; Carlile, 1963; Colwin, 1992, 2002; Oppenheim, 1970; Wilkie and Juba, 1986). Such authors have argued that breaststroke was the prevailing racing style during the early nineteenth century. Given that there were no regulations to restrict the styles of swimming that could be utilized within competitive events, such authors have examined the gradual shift to different styles of swimming on the side – known as the sidestroke and overarm sidestroke – during the mid-decades of the nineteenth century. Some competitors subsequently began to utilize a style of swimming that became known as the Trudgeon stroke during the 1870s. This involved bringing both arms alternately over the surface of the water and utilizing a breaststroke-type leg-action in which both legs were bent, extended out to the sides and then brought back together in an extended position. Such developments contributed to the emergence of the first frontcrawl strokes in the early twentieth century as some swimmers experimented with variations on the Trudgeon technique, notably the leg action, as an alternating crawl-type kick was gradually adopted. As the fastest method of swimming, the emerging frontcrawl stroke was increasingly utilized as the prevailing racing style in many competitive events. Several authors have also argued that the first recognized breaststroke and backstroke events were instituted in the early twentieth century (Armbruster et al., 1968; Colwin, 2002;

Oppenheim, 1970; Wilkie and Juba, 1986). It is from this point that such authors have typically examined the development of breaststroke and backstroke techniques during the course of the twentieth century. Moreover, various authors have noted that relatively early forms of butterfly began to emerge from approximately the 1930s as some swimmers experimented with existing breaststroke techniques by bringing both arms over the surface of the water, which, at that time, was not against the existing breaststroke rules. The butterfly was subsequently ratified as a separate style of swimming in the mid-1950s (Armbruster et al., 1968; Carlile, 1963; Colwin, 2002; Oppenheim, 1970; Wilkie and Juba, 1986).

It is evident from the preceding comments that various authors have sought to examine the long-term development of swimming strokes and techniques during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, there are several limitations with these existing analyses. In particular, the development of swimming strokes has often been examined from a technical rather than a social perspective. Most of the authors that have examined the long-term development of racing strokes and techniques are swimming coaches or competitive swimmers. These individuals have focussed predominantly upon the type of technical developments that took place within different periods. However, such developments are often not located within a wider social and theoretical context. Instead, there has been a common tendency for many authors to refer in reified terms to the 'evolution' of swimming techniques (see Armbruster et al., 1968; Carlile, 1963; Colwin, 1992, 2002; Oppenheim, 1970). This type of terminology can lead to the false impression that the development of swimming strokes was somehow inevitable. From a sociological perspective, it is important to emphasize that wider social developments are not somehow predestined. In other words, the long-term development of swimming strokes and techniques cannot be separated from the interactions of people (Curry et al., 2006). Thus, the tendency for authors to refer in reified terms to the 'evolution' of swimming techniques is an inadequate conceptualization for describing the long-term development of swimming strokes. In addition to these more abstract tendencies, most authors have also sought to explain the occurrence of technical developments within some swimming strokes as the innovations of particular individuals (see Armbruster et al., 1968; Carlile, 1963; Colwin, 1992, 2002; Oppenheim, 1970; Wilkie and Juba, 1986). Of course, there are instances in which individual people make notable contributions to existing knowledge or play an important role in popularizing certain developments. But any such developments take place within a wider social context in which people are

interdependent with others (Dunning, Malcolm and Waddington, 2004b). The reduction of technical developments to the level of individual swimmers can lead to explanations that are too simplistic. For example, some academic authors have recently critiqued the myth that a man named Alick Wickham created the frontcrawl style of swimming (see Osmond and Phillips, 2006). These tendencies towards reification and reductionism within many existing analyses are problematic and serve to limit a more adequate understanding of the complex interweaving processes that contributed to the development of swimming strokes and techniques during these periods. In this manner, there remains considerable scope to locate and explain such developments within a wider social and theoretical context.

1.3.3 Towards a Sociological Rationale

There are various reasons underpinning the decision to examine the emergence and development of swimming as a modern competitive sport within this thesis and for conducting this research from a sociological perspective. In particular, there are notable gaps within much existing research relating to the development of swimming as a competitive sport. In itself, this is sufficient to warrant further investigation of this topic area. However, there also remains a distinct lack of sociological research on the development of swimming as a modern competitive sport. Consequently, it has been argued that there is potential for the adoption of a figurational sociological framework to provide a more adequate theoretical and conceptual basis to overcome the tendencies towards empiricism and reductionism that are evident within much historical literature within this topic area. In other words, there is scope within this thesis to contribute towards a more detailed empirical and theoretical understanding of the long-term social processes that underpinned the gradual emergence of swimming as a modern competitive sport.

As well as contributing to current knowledge on the development of competitive swimming, there is scope to add to existing sociological knowledge within this thesis by testing the relative adequacy of the figurational concept of sportization. There have been ongoing academic debates over the extent to which figurational sociologists have sought to explain the development of modern sports in relation to the increasing social control of violence within England in the periods between the Middle-Ages and the early twentieth century (see Dunning, 1992; Green, Liston, Smith and Bloyce, 2005; Malcolm, 2002, 2005; Stokvis, 1992, 2005). Such arguments will be examined at greater length in

subsequent chapters. For present purposes, it is sufficient to appreciate that Dunning et al. (2004b, p.203) have accepted that ‘a substantial proportion of the work produced by figurational sociologists of sport has focused on sports in which forms of controlled violence are socially tolerated and/or which attract violence-prone spectators’. Accordingly, there is scope within this thesis to further test the relative adequacy of the figurational approach and the concept of sportization as a possible explanation for the long-term development of the modern non-contact sport of competitive swimming.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

It has been argued that the adoption of a more overt theoretical perspective might provide a more adequate basis to overcome many of the limitations that are evident within existing historical analyses relating to the development of modern sports. A review of existing sociological explanations for the emergence of modern sports is undertaken in the following chapter. This involves a critique of the different theoretical explanations for the development of modern sports that have been provided by critical Marxists, hegemony theorists, feminists and figurational sociologists. It is argued that the figurational framework appears to provide a more adequate basis to overcome many of the theoretical and conceptual problems that are evident in the work of other sociologists. Consequently, an overview of the theoretical concepts of figurational sociology that have been utilized during the course of this research is provided in Chapter 3. This involves consideration of the concepts of interdependence, power, figurations, unintended consequences and blind social processes. The methods that were utilized during the course of this research are then outlined in Chapter 4. It is argued that traditional conceptualizations of ontology and epistemology are inadequate for describing the research process. In this manner, the traditional dichotomies between objectivity/subjectivity, quantitative/qualitative research and inductivism/deductivism are critiqued from a figurational perspective. The method of documentary analysis that was utilized during the course of this research is then outlined and justified from a figurational standpoint.

The research findings that have been uncovered during the course of this investigation are outlined and discussed in Chapters 5 to 8. The period 1595-1830s is examined in Chapter 5. Swimming was known and practiced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, there is no evidence to indicate that competition-based forms of swimming occurred during those periods. Instead, it is argued that early forms of

swimming-based competition appear to have emerged in England during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Such events often took place in the form of cash wagers between two or more individuals. The emergence of competition-based forms of swimming during this period is a topic that has been overlooked or ignored by other authors to date.

The period 1830s-1869 is examined in Chapter 6. There was a gradual trend towards the 'incipient modernization' of swimming-based competitions during this period (Dunning and Sheard, 2005, p.69). This trend was evident in relation to the formation of increasing numbers of swimming societies, clubs and associations. However, there was also a gradual trend towards the provision of public baths in some towns and cities as well as the emergence of professional swimmers who were often employed within such facilities. Such developments provided a more organized basis for increasing numbers of swimming-based competitions to be held during these periods.

The emergence of the predecessor bodies of the ASA is examined in Chapter 7 over the period 1869-1886. The formation of this organization – known throughout most of this period as the SAGB – was an important development that contributed to the emergence of standardized racing laws and recognized national championships within the emerging sport of competitive swimming. Such developments occurred within the context of ongoing power-struggles and disputes over the amateur and professional status of competitors. The power-struggles that contributed to the secession of some clubs from the SAGB and the formation of the rival ASU in 1884 are examined in this chapter. In addition, the processes underpinning the settlement of such disputes are analyzed, as members of the SAGB and ASU amalgamated in 1886 in order to form the ASA.

The activities of the newly formed ASA are examined in Chapter 8 over the period 1886-1908. There was a notable increase during this period in the number of swimming clubs that were affiliated to the ASA. Such developments contributed to ongoing power-struggles amongst groups in different parts of the country for greater representation in the government of competitive swimming. It was during these periods that competitive swimming gradually became more organized at national, district, county and club levels within England. In addition, there was a gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence at international level in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

FINA was established as the international governing body of competitive swimming in 1908.

It is important to emphasize that the four interrelated periods that are examined in Chapters 5 to 8 should not be viewed as strict and rigid stages of development. Throughout these four interrelated periods, the aim is to examine the ongoing development of swimming as a modern competitive sport. For example, the predominant method for arranging swimming-based competitions in the period 1595-1830s was for people to engage in cash wagers. Other methods of arranging competitive events gradually became dominant in later periods, but this does not mean that people suddenly stopped participating in cash wagers after the 1830s. These are not rigid and divisive stages of development. In other words, the aim within Chapters 5 to 8 is to examine the ongoing development of competition-based forms of swimming throughout these four interrelated periods. Similarly, the development of swimming strokes and techniques is an ongoing topic that spans Chapters 5 to 8 in order to provide a more adequate basis to locate such developments within a long-term wider social context.

The conclusions to this research are drawn in Chapter 9. The aim is to determine the relative adequacy of the concept of sportization as an explanation for the emergence and development of swimming as a modern competitive sport in England throughout the period between the late sixteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition, recommendations are made for potential areas, topics and themes for further research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Theories of the Development of Modern Sports

2.1 Introduction

It was argued in the previous chapter that the use of sociological theory as an explanatory tool could provide a basis to develop a more adequate understanding of wider social processes than the more implicit theoretical approach that is generally adopted by historians. Many of the existing theoretical explanations for the emergence and development of modern sports have been outlined by sociologists. There is not the scope within this review to undertake a detailed examination of mainstream sociological approaches and what they might contribute to this debate. Instead, the intention is to examine the most common theoretical explanations that sociologists have advanced for the development of modern sports. This will involve consideration of the work of critical Marxist, hegemony, feminist and figural sociologists. In each instance, the theoretical explanations that have been provided by such authors will be outlined and critically assessed in order to provide a basis to consider the relative adequacy of these existing sociological explanations.

2.2 Marxism

The sociological paradigm of Marxism can be broken down into a subtle variety of approaches. A basic distinction is often drawn between Marxist-Leninist theories and neo-Marxism. The latter approach is more commonly associated with the type of research that has been conducted by Marxist academics in Western Europe (Rigauer, 2000). Yet it is important to appreciate that the broad paradigm of neo-Marxism can be further subdivided into a range of approaches (Rigauer, 2000). For the purpose of this review, a distinction can be drawn between theoretical explanations for the development of modern sports that have been provided by critical Marxists and hegemony theorists.

2.2.1 Critical Marxism

The traditional Marxist concept of the 'base-superstructure' has been used in order to underpin the theoretical explanations that have been provided by critical Marxists for the development of modern sports. In basic terms, critical Marxists view the economy as the 'base' of society. The concept of the 'superstructure' is used in order to describe all other areas of social and cultural life. The central Marxist thesis is that changes in the economic base of society directly affect all other aspects of the wider social

superstructure such as, in this instance, the development of modern sports (see Brohm, 1978; Rigauer, 2000).

One of the main underpinning beliefs for Brohm (1978) is that games and pastimes served as a means of social control to distract the lower classes from their inferior social situation and to dampen the revolutionary tendencies that would otherwise emerge amongst such groups. For example, Brohm (1978, p.96) has argued that ‘ever since Roman times games have always had a useful role as a safety valve and diversion... Physical leisure is... a means of dulling people intellectually: an opiate’. According to Brohm (1978), the emergence of modern sports occurred within the context of widespread changes in the economic base of society in England during the mid-to-late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century. His contention is that there was a gradual shift in the economic base of society during these periods as a process of industrialization occurred in England and led towards the emergence of capitalist forms of thought amongst an increasingly powerful industrial bourgeoisie. His argument is that modern forms of sport gradually began to emerge as capitalist notions of efficient industrial production also came to be reflected within people’s pastimes:

The vertical, hierarchical structure of sport models the social structure of bureaucratic capitalism, with its system of competitive selection, promotion, hierarchy and social advancement. The driving forces in sport – performance, competitiveness, records – are directly carried over from the driving forces of capitalism: productivity, the search for profit, rivalry and competitiveness (Brohm, 1978, p.50).

Brohm (1978) argued that members of the industrial bourgeoisie encouraged the emergence of modern sport as a means of maintaining their repression over the working classes. The emergence of modern sport provided a basis, he claimed, for capitalist principles of hard work and endeavour to be instilled amongst the industrial workforce during their leisure time (Brohm, 1978, 2007). Brohm (1978) also maintained that modern sport served the bourgeois need to distract the lower social classes from their relative inferiority and repression within nineteenth century industrial society. The formation of clubs and national and international governing bodies during the nineteenth century was an important means, he argued, for the bourgeoisie to maintain their control over the working classes. In particular, he claimed that the formation of

such groups provided a basis for the widespread diffusion of capitalist values through these emerging forms of modern sport (Brohm, 1978). Yet Brohm (1978) also argued that the diffusion of modern sports at national and international levels served as a means of distracting the lower social classes on a more widespread basis within and between different nations. In this manner, the emergence of modern competitive sport has been explained by Brohm (1978) in relation to changes in the economic base of society that were evident in the emergence of industrialized notions of capitalism. He argued that the formation of modern sports was encouraged by the bourgeoisie as a means of instilling capitalist working values and distracting the lower classes from their repression within industrial societies. For Brohm (1978), modern competitive sport was a means of maintaining bourgeois control by dampening the revolutionary tendencies of the working classes.

Many of the same theoretical notions relating to the base-superstructure relationship are evident in the work of Rigauer (1981, 1993). However, Rigauer (1993) also examined processes of economic rationalization in the development of modern sports. In basic terms, Rigauer (1993) maintained that changes in the economic base of society occurred in accordance with the industrialization of many European nations during the nineteenth century. Such developments, he argued, led to the emergence of increasingly rationalized forms of capitalist thought as industrialists sought more efficient methods of production. He contends that developments in the economic base of society towards greater economic rationalization gradually came to be reflected throughout the wider social superstructure. For example, Rigauer (1981) argued that processes of economic rationalization contributed to the emergence of sport as a means of instilling capitalist working values and notions of efficient production amongst the workforce. In addition, Rigauer (1993) argued that the emergence of many of the underpinning structures of modern sport were also based upon processes of economic rationalization. For example, the formation of standardized rules and regulations within emerging sports was indicative, he claimed, of the rationalization of such activities in the sense that the codification of sport provided a basis for greater structure, consistency and efficiency in the management of such activities. In this manner, it became possible, he argued, for performances to be measured and increasingly necessary for athletes to ensure that their performances were maximized through rationalized forms of training and preparation. Similarly, Rigauer (1993) maintained that the emergence of clubs, associations and national governing bodies was indicative of rational economic behaviour. The formation

of such groups was necessary in order to provide an appropriate economic basis to facilitate the continued organization, management, development and expansion of modern sports (Rigauer, 1993). In this manner, Rigauer (1981, 1993) contends that modern forms of sport gradually emerged as an increasingly rationalized and economic activity following the initial emergence of capitalist forms of thought within the economic base of society.

2.2.2 Critique of Critical Marxist Explanations

There are various criticisms that can be levelled at the explanations for the development of modern sport provided by Brohm and Rigauer. In particular, there is a notable tendency towards economic reductionism within their theoretical analyses. Brohm and Rigauer would most likely respond that such reductionism is entirely proper and appropriate, given their conviction that it is changes in the economic base of society that impact upon developments in all other areas of the social superstructure. Indeed, their analyses on the emergence and development of modern sports – which they consider to be an aspect of the wider social superstructure – reflect this underpinning ideological and theoretical belief that economic factors should be afforded primacy. However, the work of Brohm and Rigauer is highly theoretical and ideologically driven. Such authors provide very little empirical evidence within their analyses and, as such, their work remains highly abstract. There appears to be a greater tendency for such authors to advocate their theoretical standpoint and to provide occasional selective evidence in support of their arguments. This type of mono-causal economic determinism is too simplistic to account for the myriad of social, cultural and political processes that also contributed to the emergence and development of modern sports.

Brohm and Rigauer also demonstrate a tendency to dichotomize between agency and structure within their analyses. The concept of the base-superstructure is indicative of this type of dichotomy as Brohm and Rigauer focus at macro level upon the impact of the economy upon all other aspects of social life. This tendency towards macro level analysis is reflected in the extent to which Brohm and Rigauer are culpable of reifying the economy, society, capitalism and sport throughout their work. To provide one such example, Rigauer (1993, p.283-284) argued that:

Developed sports have organised themselves in such a way that they have become factors within the larger economies in which they operate; consequently sport

becomes an entity to be interacted with and to be acted upon by other portions of an “external” economy.

This type of terminology can give the false impression that social ‘structures’ and ‘forces’ are somehow able to act as though they are independent from human action. This type of reification is problematic and misleading. It is people that interact. Those areas of social life that Brohm and Rigauer have tended to conceptualize in reified terms as ‘structures’ and ‘forces’ cannot exist independently of the interactions of people. These types of reified conceptualizations serve to limit the relative adequacy of their theoretical explanations.

The concept of power is another aspect of the critical Marxist approach that is too simplistic. For critical Marxists, members of the bourgeoisie have utilized sport as an instrument to distract members of the working classes from their inferior social position within industrial society. In this manner, sport, they argue, is a means of maintaining bourgeois repression over the working classes. The notion that people can simply be distracted by participation in sport is rather crude and does not allow for the prospect of resistance against dominant ideologies. In other words, this type of approach does not take account of power as a relational and multi-dimensional concept. Instead, critical Marxists tend to emphasize a rather one-directional notion of bourgeois repression over the working classes. Such authors do not appear to account for the potential for working class resistance to dominant groups and ideologies.

2.2.3 Hegemony Theory

The aim for hegemony theorists, whose work emanates from that of the neo-Marxist Antonio Gramsci, has been to examine the development of modern sports from a broadly Marxist perspective whilst also attempting to move beyond the type of economic determinism that is prevalent within more traditional Marxist analyses (Clarke and Critcher, 1985; Gruneau, 1999; J. Hargreaves, 1986). To this end, hegemony theorists have sought to conceptualize power in terms of interaction and resistance between different social classes. This approach differs, they argue, from more traditional Marxist conceptualizations of power that are based predominantly upon the repression of the working classes. For hegemony theorists, the difference within their approach is that bourgeois hegemony cannot simply be exerted over the working classes. Rather, they argue that bourgeois hegemony has been continuously redefined and

sustained through ongoing power-struggles and conflict between the members of different social groups (Clarke and Critcher, 1985; Gruneau, 1999; J. Hargreaves, 1986). In this manner, hegemony theorists have sought to explain the emergence and development of modern sports during the nineteenth century in relation to ongoing class tensions and conflict.

J. Hargreaves (1986) has argued that prior to the latter decades of the eighteenth century the social hegemony of the ruling aristocracy and gentry within England was based upon a relatively fragile state structure following the upheavals of the English Civil War in the previous century. He maintains that 'the price the ruling class paid for a limited monarchy and a weak state was the licence of the crowd' (J. Hargreaves, 1986, p.18). In other words, hegemony theorists have argued that the ruling classes continued to tolerate many traditional and unruly lower class games and pastimes during the eighteenth century (Clarke and Critcher, 1985; J. Hargreaves, 1986). Indeed, they contend that this was important in facilitating the continued hegemony of the ruling classes who were 'dependent for their authority as much on consent as coercion' during these periods (Clarke and Critcher, 1985, p.53).

Hegemony theorists have argued that there was a shift in class relations from the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century as a process of industrialization took place in England. Clarke and Critcher (1985) and J. Hargreaves (1986) contend that such processes gradually led to the emergence of an increasingly powerful industrial bourgeoisie. During this same period there was a concomitant trend, they argue, towards the employment of a larger proportion of the working classes in the growing numbers of factories that were built by members of the industrial bourgeoisie. J. Hargreaves (1986, p.20) has maintained that the increasing concentration of the working classes in towns and factories provided a basis for greater 'social and political disorder' amongst such groups and that the early-to-mid nineteenth century was consequently 'marked by a relatively heavy reliance on repressive means of maintaining social order'. According to hegemony theorists, such developments contributed to the emergence of a clear distinction between work and leisure during these periods. For example, such authors have argued that in accordance with emerging notions of efficient capitalist production, many members of the working classes were increasingly required to work long hours with little respite (Clarke and Critcher, 1985; J. Hargreaves, 1986). Clarke and Critcher (1985, p.56) contend that this type of economic 'discipline' was a means for the upper

and middle classes to maintain greater control over the working classes. They argue that the emergence of more intensive working hours led to a notable decline in the amount of spare time that was available for traditional working class leisure activities. Moreover, hegemony theorists have claimed that members of the upper and middle classes also sought greater control over those activities that were known to take place during the limited amount of leisure time that was available to the working classes (Clarke and Critcher, 1985; J. Hargreaves, 1986). For example, such authors have argued that legislation was introduced during the early-to-mid nineteenth century in an attempt to target many of the unruly pastimes that had traditionally been enjoyed by members of the working classes (Clarke and Critcher, 1985; J. Hargreaves, 1986). Instead, the working classes were encouraged to engage in more organized forms of leisure and 'sport' that were beginning to emerge during these periods. Hegemony theorists have argued that there was some working class resistance to this upper and middle class repression. For example, Clarke and Critcher (1985) maintain that some traditional working class activities continued to take place in secret whereas other activities were modified and thus continued to take place, but in more controlled formats. The key point, for hegemony theorists, is that more organized and controlled activities were increasingly 'enforced from above as a form of social control' during these periods (Clarke and Critcher, 1985, p.58).

Hegemony theorists have explained the emergence of modern codified sports in relation to ongoing class tensions and conflicts that were evident within English society during the second half of the nineteenth century. For example, J. Hargreaves (1986, p.38) has argued that by the mid-nineteenth century 'the bourgeoisie exercised hegemony over the landed aristocracy, although the latter continued to dominate important sectors of the state'. As the bourgeoisie gradually emerged as the dominant social class in England through their position in industry, there was a gradual trend for their children to attend public schools in larger numbers alongside the children of the aristocracy and gentry. For hegemony theorists, the emergence of many organized sports was based predominantly upon the organization and rationalization of more traditional games and pastimes within public schools. For example, J. Hargreaves (1986) has argued that participation in increasingly organized and rationalized activities within public schools provided a basis for capitalist bourgeois principles to be instilled amongst the children of the aristocracy and gentry as well as the bourgeoisie. In this manner, he argues, the emergence of increasingly rationalized forms of bourgeois sport provided an appropriate

ideological basis for children of the upper classes and the emerging bourgeoisie to learn the type of values and principles that would enable them to cooperate more effectively in order to govern the working classes.

As many of these more organized and rationalized forms of sport gradually began to diffuse beyond public schools and into wider society, hegemony theorists have claimed that the formation of clubs and national governing bodies by members of the upper classes and the bourgeoisie provided a basis for the continued development of such activities. Hegemony theorists have noted that in some instances members of the working classes increasingly became involved in certain sports as spectators, participants and professionals during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Clarke and Critcher, 1985; J. Hargreaves, 1986). Yet such authors also contend that the formation of clubs and national governing bodies provided a basis for the upper classes and bourgeoisie to distance themselves from the working classes, in many activities, through the notion of amateurism (Clarke and Critcher, 1985; J. Hargreaves, 1986). J. Hargreaves (1986, p.57) has argued that 'the period from the 1880s up to 1914 saw increasing class confrontation, the threat of political instability at home and anti-imperialist rivalry abroad' all of which contributed to the 'need to promote social harmony' within England. For hegemony theorists, the increasing participation of different social groups in some modern sports marked an important shift in class relations between the bourgeoisie and the working classes (J. Hargreaves, 1986). Hegemony theorists have argued that in previous eras members of the bourgeoisie had sought to repress the leisure activities of the working classes. However, they maintain that by the late nineteenth century greater emphasis was placed upon encouraging working class involvement (J. Hargreaves, 1986). For hegemony theorists, the emergence of modern sports provided an important basis for capitalist bourgeois values to continue to diffuse amongst the working classes (J. Hargreaves, 1986). At the same time, a clear social distinction could be maintained between the relative status of the bourgeoisie and the working classes through notions of amateurism and professionalism. J. Hargreaves (1986, p.57) has argued that within this social context 'subordination was... based on the extensive participation of working-class people in civil society and on accommodation between nationally extensive classes... Rule was based on consent rather than the exclusion of working class people from national life'. In other words, the gradual emergence of modern competitive sports continued to serve, for hegemony theorists, as a means for the bourgeoisie to maintain their social hegemony over the

working classes in light of changing class-relations, tensions and conflicts throughout the course of the nineteenth century.

2.2.4 Critique of Hegemonic Explanations

There are numerous similarities between many of the criticisms that were levelled towards the work of critical Marxists and those that must also be directed towards hegemony theorists. For instance, there is a tendency for hegemony theorists to reify the economy, social class and class 'forces' within their work in the same manner as critical Marxists. To provide one such example, J. Hargreaves (1986, p.21-22) has argued that 'the pressures and limits exerted by the economy on popular cultural expressions is demonstrated in the dramatic increase in the absolute number of hours worked per day or per week'. Again, this type of reification of the economy is problematic and a hindrance to understanding the wider social processes that such authors are attempting to examine. In addition, hegemony theorists claim to have moved beyond the type of economic determinism that is prevalent within many traditional Marxist analyses. There are some instances in which Clarke and Critcher and J. Hargreaves have attempted to widen their analyses beyond the economy in order to introduce discussion of other social, political and cultural processes. This has been facilitated by the fact that hegemony theorists have also placed greater emphasis upon the inclusion of supporting evidence within their work than critical Marxists. Clarke and Critcher appear to have based their analysis largely upon empirical research. This is a more adequate approach than the type of abstract theoretical discussion that was prevalent amongst critical Marxists. However, it would seem that J. Hargreaves has relied to a greater extent upon secondary source material in order to support his analysis. Over-reliance upon secondary sources is problematic as it can lead to the selective use of material in order to support a desired argument. Yet despite their claims to have moved beyond mono-causal economic explanations, there remains a general tendency towards economic determinism within the work of hegemony theorists. To cite just one example, Clarke and Critcher (1985, p.58) have argued that the reason for the emergence of new leisure formats during the nineteenth century was 'in the end, despite religious and moral camouflage, that of the economic system'. In other words, whilst this type of hegemonic approach may not result in the same blatant form of economic determinism that is often evident within more traditional Marxist analyses, there is still a latent tendency for hegemony theorists to afford primacy to economic developments within their theoretical explanations. The problem is that such authors have tended to downplay and lose sight

of all other social developments in consequence of this latent tendency towards economic determinism.

As an integral aspect of wider economic developments, there is also a strong emphasis upon class-relations within the work of hegemony theorists. Clarke and Critcher and J. Hargreaves have argued that power is relational. In other words, they maintain that any conceptualization of power-relations must take into account the potential for resistance against dominant groups and ideologies. This is a more adequate approach to the concept of power than the unidirectional notion of bourgeois repression that has typically been employed by critical Marxists. Nevertheless, there remains a latent tendency for hegemony theorists to continue to focus predominantly upon continued processes of repression. In particular, hegemony theorists have consistently claimed that the emergence and development of modern sports continued to serve as a means of redefining and maintaining bourgeois hegemony over the working classes. This underpinning ideological approach is further bolstered by the tendency for hegemony theorists to reify the concept of power. For example, J. Hargreaves (1986, p.4-5) consistently describes power as something that can be 'exercised' or 'deployed' in different situations. In this manner, hegemony theorists fail to adequately account for the complexity of power as a relational and multi-dimensional concept that is integral to all forms of human interaction and that constantly fluctuates and continues to vary from one social situation to another.

2.3 Feminism

Feminism is another highly differentiated sociological paradigm. However, there has been a tendency for feminist authors to adopt gendered concepts of hegemony within the sub-discipline of sports feminism (see Birrell, 2000; Costa and Guthrie, 1994; Hall, 1990; J.A. Hargreaves, 1994; Parratt, 1994). There are several underlying principles that underpin most feminist research into sport. For example, there is general agreement amongst feminists that society remains male-dominated and that the situation for women is one of subordination and inequality. Feminist research is also conducted from a conviction that it is important to understand gendered power-relations within patriarchal societies in order to strive to improve the situation for women (Birrell, 2000; J.A. Hargreaves, 1992; Hall, 1990, 1996). Indeed, Hall (1990, p.233) has argued that 'the feminist project is to change the world, not merely to describe it'. To this end, some feminists contend that it is important to examine the relative lack of female participation

in many sport and leisure activities throughout different periods. This is important, they argue, in order to better comprehend the ongoing power-struggles that have contributed to the continued subordination of women in sport and society over time (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994; Lenskyj, 1986).

2.3.1 Feminist Explanation

Feminists have argued that many historians and sociologists have tended to overlook the experiences of women when analyzing the emergence and development of modern sports (J.A. Hargreaves, 2000; Vertinsky, 1994). It is for this reason that feminists have often sought to examine the relative absence of women from many sport and leisure activities throughout different periods (Kay, 2003). In particular, many feminists have sought to examine the gradual emergence of women within a wider range of sport and leisure activities during the mid-to-late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (J.A. Hargreaves, 1993, 1994; Lenskyj, 1986; McCrone, 1984, 1988, 1990; Parratt, 1989; C. Smith, 1997; Vertinsky, 1990, 1994). Such developments occurred, they argue, as women contested many of the nineteenth century patriarchal notions that contributed to male hegemony.

It is important to appreciate, feminists contend, that a range of contemporary patriarchal beliefs underpinned nineteenth century stereotypes of the respective roles that were appropriate for men and women within society. Such stereotypes, they argue, were often based upon contemporary medical and scientific beliefs that women were naturally frail and passive in comparison to men (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994; Lenskyj, 1986; McCrone, 1984, 1988; Vertinsky, 1990, 1994). For example, Vertinsky (1990, p.39) has indicated that there was a 'widespread notion that women were chronically weak and had only finite mental and physical energy because of menstruation'. Feminists have maintained that such beliefs were often accepted as evidence of inherent natural differences between the type of social roles that were suitable for men and women. For example, J.A. Hargreaves (1993) has argued that prevailing middle class ideologies regarding gender during the nineteenth century were based upon the notion that women were physically weak and morally strong. As a result of these wider social perceptions, she argues, women, more notably middle class women, were often required to preserve their energies for raising children and maintaining the household. In contrast, men were deemed to be comparatively strong and physically active and thus middle class males were expected to work for a living in order to provide for their families. According to

J.A. Hargreaves (1993, p.72), these scientific and medical beliefs were 'elevated as a concept that permeated social consciousness' and contributed to maintaining nineteenth century stereotypes of masculinity and femininity. In addition, feminists have claimed that nineteenth century notions of morality were also important determinants upon the type of behaviour that was considered to be appropriate for women (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994; McCrone, 1988). Women, they argue, were expected to behave and dress in a manner that was consistent with nineteenth century social conventions of respectability and decency. For example, feminists have maintained that there was a tendency for many upper and middle class women to wear corsets as 'a hallmark of virtue, the implication being that the woman with loose stays [corsets], or, worse, none at all, was likely to have loose morals' (McCrone, 1988, p.219). In addition, it was fashionable for middle and upper class women to wear expensive dresses and gowns as an indicator of the social position of their families (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994; McCrone, 1988). According to such authors, notions of respectable female dress and behaviour also became synonymous, over time, with the prevailing nineteenth century concept of femininity.

Feminists have argued that the prevailing nineteenth century concepts of femininity and appropriate feminine behaviour served to limit or prevent women from participating in many sports and pastimes. For example, feminists contend that it was acceptable for men to take part in relatively energetic sports and pastimes in accordance with prevailing notions of masculinity. In contrast, many pastimes for women were relatively gentle activities – such as croquet and early forms of tennis – that required minimal physical exertion and that could be undertaken in more restrictive clothing in order to correspond with the accepted social conventions of femininity (see J.A. Hargreaves, 1993, 1994; McCrone, 1984, 1988). J.A. Hargreaves (1994) has claimed that nineteenth century notions of masculinity and femininity were patriarchal conceptualizations that contributed to maintaining many modern sports as male-dominated activities during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Feminists have often examined such issues in relation to the concept of hegemony. For example, various authors have argued that male hegemony was continuously redefined and sustained within sport and society through ongoing power-struggles and conflicts between men and women during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Birrell and Theberge, 1994a, 1994b; J.A. Hargreaves, 1994; Lenskyj, 1986; Theberge and Birrell, 1994). In other words, such authors have also maintained that some women continued to contest the prevailing

patriarchal notions of acceptable feminine behaviour throughout the course of the mid-to-late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Feminists have argued that there was a gradual trend towards increased female participation in various forms of sport and exercise within the confines of public schools for girls and some colleges and universities during the mid-to-late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994; McCrone, 1984, 1988, 1990; Vertinsky, 1994). Such authors have indicated that girls were largely segregated from men within many of these institutions. This provided a basis, they argue, for larger numbers of women to engage in sports and activities that were more commonly associated with men and the development of masculine traits. Indeed, feminists contend that such developments occurred within a wider social context in which some people were gradually beginning to question and challenge biological notions of female frailty. In particular, many headmistresses gradually sought to introduce certain forms of exercise and sport into the curriculum within girls' public schools in order to encourage larger numbers of girls to become more active as a means of improving their general health and well-being (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994; McCrone, 1984, 1988; Vertinsky, 1994). Over time, women graduated from public schools and continued to participate in certain forms of sport and exercise when they continued their education at college and university (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994; McCrone, 1988, 1990). In this manner, rather than women being involved in the emergence and development of such activities, the gradual introduction of sports within the female educational system was based predominantly upon activities that had initially emerged under the jurisdiction of men within the male public school system, for example.

J.A. Hargreaves (1994) has argued that by the late nineteenth and the early decades of the twentieth century there was also a gradual trend towards the emergence of female participants within some sports and pastimes beyond the confines of the educational system. However, such developments continued to occur within the confines of acceptable feminine behaviour. For example, J.A. Hargreaves (1994) contends that there were still prevailing concerns amongst many people on the basis of contemporary medical beliefs that women should not engage in activities that were too strenuous. Many sports and pastimes, she argues, were believed to encourage masculine traits amongst participants. Women continued to be discouraged from participating in such activities and were instead encouraged towards more gentle sports and activities.

Similarly, it remained a requirement for women to wear clothes that were considered to be appropriate within a wider social context. There was a gradual trend, over time, towards the emergence of less restricting forms of clothing for women in some sports and pastimes. Yet feminists have maintained that such clothes still had to provide sufficient coverage of the body to be deemed appropriate for maintaining female modesty (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994; McCrone, 1988). In this manner, J.A. Hargreaves (1994, p.97) has argued that ‘gaining access to various sports was a process of struggle by women to undermine male hegemony’. In other words, any females who wanted to participate in more traditional masculine sports during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had to do so against a backdrop of patriarchal attitudes and gender-based power relations that continued to contribute to the maintenance of male hegemony within sport and society. Feminists contend that women continued to contest male hegemony and patriarchal notions of femininity throughout the course of the twentieth century. It was through these ongoing processes, they argue, that women gradually came to enjoy greater representation in larger numbers of competitive sports (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994; Lenskyj, 1986). However, the point, again, is that women were often not involved in the development of such activities, but sought to gain access to sports that had often emerged under the jurisdiction of men during the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

2.3.2 Critique of Feminist Explanations

Feminists have examined the gradual emergence of women within a number of sports and pastimes in greater detail than many other academics. Their comments constitute an important rebuke and reminder to examine the role of women within these long-term processes. Nevertheless, it is important to question whether feminist research is more adequate as a study of gender-relations than the work of other historians and sociologists. Indeed, there are various criticisms that must be levelled towards feminists regarding their analyses on the emergence of women in some sport and leisure activities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, feminists have often placed considerable emphasis upon the role of women in sport and society and have been critical of other authors for under-representing women. Yet many feminists have effectively committed the equivalent gender-based transgression by focussing predominantly upon women within their own analyses. Feminists would counter that it is their intention to redress the gender imbalance that is evident within much historical and sociological research. Certainly, it is important to understand the roles of both men

and women in sport and society, including their roles in the development of sport in its modern forms. But, at times, this can mean that it is necessary and appropriate to focus predominantly upon the role that was played by men within such developments. In other words, if it is men that were at the centre of the long-term development of modern sports, then it is males that need to be the focal point of investigation in order to understand such processes. In this manner, feminists have made important contributions relating to women's emergence within many existing male sports and pastimes. But such authors do not tend to account for the emergence and development of modern sports *per se*.

Generally speaking, there are fewer tendencies towards reification amongst feminists than amongst critical Marxists or hegemony theorists. Yet there are still instances throughout feminist research of reified constructions. To cite just one example, J.A. Hargreaves (1994, p.42) has argued that 'Victorian and Edwardian sports were major male preserves which generated and reproduced patriarchal assumptions'. This type of reification remains problematic. However, there are several other weaknesses with the type of terminology that is utilized by feminists. For example, many feminists utilize certain forms of gender-based terminology in which they appear to draw a formal dichotomy between men and women. The general tendencies for feminists to refer to women's sports as opposed to men's and to seek to understand the experiences of women within patriarchal societies are common examples of this type of terminology. The use of such phrases has resulted in the introduction of broad generalizations within some feminist research as a result of this tendency to refer to men and women as homogeneous groups. Some have criticized other feminists for failing to take account of the relative diversity of women in terms of issues such as class, ethnicity, disability and sexuality within their analyses (see Birrell, 1990; Hall, 1996; Parratt, 1994). Some feminists do occasionally hint at the relative heterogeneity of the terms male and female. However, there are many instances in which there remains a rather simplistic dichotomy between men and women within feminist research on the emergence and development of modern sports. This type of crude male/female dichotomy can result in oversimplified explanations that serve to limit comprehension of the issues.

There are several additional implications stemming from the introduction of an oversimplistic dichotomy between men and women. For example, this dichotomy is also reflected, at times, in feminist descriptions of the hegemonic power-relations between

men and women. Although many feminists acknowledge that power is relational, there remains an ideological focus within their work upon the repression of women. In this respect, it is important to comment upon the ideological beliefs that underpin much feminist research. For feminists, there is a strong conviction that women are subordinate to men within society. The aim for feminists is to contribute to rectifying this situation through their research. The problem with ideologically driven research is that such authors risk introducing their own perceptions of the social world rather than seeking to understand what the situation is. Feminists are aware of this ideological stance within their research and would claim that this type of approach is necessary in their efforts to improve the social situation for women. However, this type of ideological grounding can lead to problems in understanding the processes that are being examined. For example, the emphasis that feminists place upon the struggle and resistance of women against male hegemony within patriarchal societies is indicative of an oppression-based model of power. Feminists argue that the emergence and development of modern sports continued to serve as a means of redefining and maintaining male hegemony over women. This is indicative of the broader feminist tendency to view men and women as homogeneous groups. However, such authors pay little attention to power-relations between different groups of men and between different groups of women. In this manner, feminists fail to adequately account for the complexity of power as a relational and multi-dimensional concept. Power-relations within and between different groups are often more complex than feminists portray through the predominantly oppression-based concept of hegemony. Indeed, given their predisposition to ameliorate the causes of female subordination within patriarchal societies, there remains a form of ideological reductionism within much feminist research. Ultimately, the concept of gender is reduced to a mono-causal explanation within many feminist analyses. This type of mono-causal determinism is too simplistic to account for the range of wider social processes that contributed to the emergence and development of modern sports as well as the gradual emergence of women within such activities.

2.4 Figurational Sociology

Figurational sociologists have examined the emergence and development of a range of modern sports by utilizing Elias's (1986a) concept of sportization. For figurational sociologists, the concept of sportization is based on, amongst other things, the premise that sports today are less violent, more controlled and more organized than many of the activities and pastimes of previous eras. For example, figurational sociologists have

argued that much greater levels of violence were tolerated within many ancient and medieval pastimes (Dunning, 1993, 1999; Dunning and Sheard, 2005; Elias, 1986b; Elias and Dunning, 1986a; Mennell, 2008). The development of modern sports, for such authors, occurred within the context of a range of interweaving processes in the broader figurations within societies over time. Consequently, figurational sociologists argue that the concept of sportization must be understood as an integral aspect of wider social processes and situated within a theoretical framework that is based upon the interweaving of Elias's (1986a, 2000) theoretical concepts of the civilizing process, parliamentarization and sportization.

2.4.1 Figurational Explanation

Elias (2000) argued that in the period between the Middle-Ages and the early twentieth century a long-term civilizing spurt occurred in the countries of Western Europe, notably England, France and Germany. This was evident, he argued, in relation to the gradual refinement of people's manners and behaviour across this period. He explained such developments as the blind and unintended consequences of the large-scale interweaving of people's actions, over time, within and across the wider social figuration. In particular, he related these long-term civilizing trends to ongoing processes of state-formation. He indicated that the ruling-elites of medieval Europe were engaged in ongoing power-struggles, which meant that violence and military conflict was more common within and between nations. For Elias (2000), the result of these ongoing power-struggles between ruling-elites was a gradual trend, over time, towards the emergence of increasingly centralized and pacified nation-states. Elias (2000) contends that this entailed lengthening chains of interdependence – growing complexity and social differentiation within the wider social figuration – and the increasing centralization of force and taxation within the developing state system. In accordance with these ongoing processes of state formation, people, he argued, were gradually encouraged and more able to control their aggressive tendencies. With the increasing centralization of force, people were, generally speaking, in less immediate physical danger than in the past and were, therefore, less likely to resort to physical violence themselves. Dunning (1999, p.44) has described this as a process where 'states, which remained externally embattled at each stage – and it is crucial to remember that – became increasingly pacified internally'.

Elias (2000) maintained that in accordance with ongoing processes of state-formation, lengthening chains of interdependence and pacification, many individuals became increasingly reliant upon a wider range of other people than they had been in the past. In turn, this required many people to control their emotions in order to behave in such a way that enabled greater cooperation with others. Elias (2000) argued that this gradual tendency towards greater self-control was evident, in the first instance, amongst members of the ruling classes. In particular, he indicated that such developments could be related to the gradual emergence of parliamentary forms of government. For example, Elias (1986a, p.34) argued that in accordance with ongoing processes of state-formation and parliamentarization it became increasingly necessary and desirable for members of the aristocracy to maintain greater self-control over their emotions as 'military skills gave way to the verbal skills of debate, of rhetoric and persuasion, all of which required greater restraint all round and identified this change very clearly as a civilizing spurt'.

This trend towards greater self-control within the developing political arena was gradually mirrored, Elias (2000) argued, in the daily lives and routines of the upper classes. Indeed, he maintained that such developments were evident in the growing tendency for members of the upper classes to exhibit increasingly refined and controlled standards of behaviour across a range of social customs, manners and etiquette throughout the period between the Middle-Ages and the early twentieth century. Elias (2000) argued that many of these more controlled standards of behaviour gradually became 'second nature' for larger numbers of people over time. Indeed, he contends that the prospect of witnessing or engaging in any forms of behaviour that infringed these emerging social standards increasingly elicited feelings of shame, embarrassment or repugnance from many people. Elias (2000) described this trend towards greater sensitivity as a long-term lowering in the threshold of repugnance. He argued that many people increasingly exhibited greater self-control as their behaviour became more influenced by internal feelings of shame, embarrassment and guilt. Over time, these more refined and controlled standards of behaviour started to become a means for members of the upper classes to differentiate their higher social status from those of a lower social background. However, Elias (2000) argued that such patterns of behaviour gradually filtered down the social scale as people of a lower social standing started to emulate the more refined behaviour of their social superiors. According to Elias (2000), this resulted in a cyclical process through which the behaviour of the upper classes continued to become more refined in order to maintain their perceived notions of social

superiority and, consequently, these more refined forms of behaviour continued to filter down throughout the wider social figuration. In this manner, Elias (2000) argued that over time people gradually behaved in more ‘civilized’ ways than in previous eras.

For figurational sociologists, this gradual trend towards more controlled and ‘civilized’ forms of behaviour within everyday life also came to be reflected within people’s pastimes (Dunning, 1999; Mennell, 2008). For example, figurational sociologists contend that overt and emotional outbursts of physical violence gradually came to be viewed as inappropriate, shameful and embarrassing in accordance with wider civilizing trends. Indeed, Maguire (1991, p.27) has argued that ‘it became a mark of distinction to refrain from using violence in certain spheres’ and related this to the sportization of pastimes. In other words, figurational sociologists maintain that a trend towards the reduction of violence and the emergence of greater self-control gradually occurred within many pastimes through a process of sportization, which was intrinsically linked to wider civilizing trends.

Dunning (2002, p.221) has indicated that there was a gradual trend towards the sportization of various pastimes such as ‘boxing, cricket, fox-hunting and horse-racing’ under the jurisdiction of the upper classes during the eighteenth century. Such developments often took place, he argued, through the formation of independent sports clubs. The emergence of such clubs during the eighteenth century was facilitated, according to figurational sociologists, by certain aspects of the state formation process that were peculiar to England:

By contrast with Italy and Germany, France and England were relatively unified nationally as early as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries... France, however, had become highly centralized and governed by a form of absolute rule... In England, by contrast, any chances of absolutism and a highly centralized state were smashed in the course of the Civil War in which the Commonwealth victory led to severe reductions in monarchical power. This tendency was reinforced by the fact that England was an island/naval power and did not require the sort of large, centralized bureaucracy which tends to grow up in continental states where a substantial land army is needed to defend the frontiers (Dunning, 1999, p.74).

Figurational sociologists have claimed that the interweaving of these various processes contributed to the emergence of greater freedom for members of the aristocracy and gentry in England than in many other European nations. This provided a basis, they argue, for members of the upper classes to interact and socialize with relative freedom and to establish their own social clubs if they wished to do so (Dunning, 1999; Elias, 1986a). Such processes continued into the nineteenth century following the shifting power-relations of these periods that contributed to the emergence of the industrial bourgeoisie.¹ For example, Dunning (2002, p.221-222) has indicated that there was also a gradual trend towards the sportization of activities such as ‘soccer, rugby, hockey, tennis, athletics... rowing and swimming’ during the nineteenth century through the formation of ‘associations’ and ‘unions’ by members of the upper and middle classes. The emergence of clubs, associations and unions during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provided a basis, Elias (1986a) argued, for pastimes that had previously been based upon traditional customs and minimal rules to become more codified and rule-bound at a higher level of organization. In this manner, it gradually became possible for people from different locations across the country to compete against one another under the same recognized rules and conditions.

For figurational sociologists, it is also important to appreciate that the introduction of laws and regulations occurred within the context of wider civilizing trends. There was a gradual trend towards greater self-control and more ‘civilized’ forms of behaviour within everyday life throughout the period between the Middle-Ages and the early twentieth century. This had included a lowering in the threshold of repugnance towards acts of violence and such developments gradually came to be reflected within emerging competitive sports. For example, Dunning (1986a) has argued that the codification of modern sports provided a basis for overt physical violence to be increasingly controlled and, where necessary, prohibited under the laws of many emerging sports. This was consistent with increasing social expectations that people would maintain greater self-control over their emotions. Dunning (1986a) acknowledges that there are still many sporting activities that are relatively violent in comparison to others. However, he argues that that there ‘has been a long-term shift in the balance between “affective” and “rational” violence’ (Dunning, 1986a, p.227). For figurational sociologists, this shift away from emotional outbursts and towards more pre-meditated and controlled forms of

¹ See Dunning and Sheard (2005) for a more detailed figurational examination of the interweaving processes that contributed to a shift in the balance of power between members of the aristocracy and gentry and the emerging industrial bourgeoisie during the course of the nineteenth century.

violence within modern sports is further indicative of wider civilizing trends. In this manner, Elias and Dunning (1986b, p.63) have argued that the emergence of modern and codified forms of sport provided a basis for people to engage in a 'quest for excitement'. Indeed, the emergence of less violent and more controlled and codified modern sports provided an acceptable social arena for people to experience what Elias (1986a, p.44) has described as 'an enjoyable and controlled de-controlling of emotions'. In other words, sport was one area of social life in which people were permitted to enjoy heightened levels of tension-excitement. However, such excitement was to be experienced within the relatively controlled and 'civilized' limits that were deemed to be acceptable within the context of a broader society in which people were increasingly expected to demonstrate greater self-control over their emotions.

Figurational sociologists have examined a range of aspects in the development of modern sports within this framework of civilizing and/or sportization processes. For example, this has included figurational analyses of the various processes that contributed to the relative decline of violent tendencies and the concomitant trend towards greater self-restraint and more rational forms of violence in the development of modern sports. Similarly, figurational sociologists have examined the various events that contributed to the long-term codification of certain activities. In other words, this figurational framework of civilizing and/or sportization processes has been utilized in order to examine numerous long-term developments in sport and leisure activities such as bird-watching (Sheard, 1999), boxing (Murphy and Sheard, 2006; Sheard, 1997, 2004), clay pigeon shooting (S. Smith, 2004), cricket (Malcolm, 2002, 2004), football (Dunning, 1971; Dunning and Curry, 2004), foxhunting (Elias, 1986c), rugby (Dunning and Sheard, 2005; White, 2004), tennis (Cooper, 2004; Lake, 2009), baseball in America (Bloyce, 2004b), gaelic football in Ireland (Connolly and Dolan, 2010), martial arts and baseball in Japan (Kiku, 2004) and motor racing in France (Twitchen, 2004). A wider range of figurational sources has been examined within this review in comparison to critical Marxist, hegemonic and feminist literature. However, figurational sociologists have engaged in empirical research relating to the development of sport across a relatively wide range of activities whereas the proponents of other sociological paradigms have often tended to produce more generic analyses relating to the development of sport.

2.4.2 Critique of Figurational Explanations

Figurational sociologists have generally avoided many of the points of criticism that have been levelled towards critical Marxists, hegemony theorists and feminists. For example, figurational sociologists have utilized the concept of ‘figuration’ in an attempt to overcome the dichotomy between agency and structure that is often evident amongst the proponents of other sociological paradigms (Dunning, 1986b; Elias, 1978, 1986a). This is an issue that will be examined at greater length in the following chapter. For present purposes, it is important to indicate that the use of this concept appears to provide a basis for figurational sociologists to place greater emphasis upon the complexity of power as a relational, multi-dimensional and fluctuating concept than critical Marxists, hegemony theorists or feminists. In addition, there does not appear to be the same general tendency towards reified constructions within the work of figurational sociologists. There are some instances in which figurational sociologists have occasionally utilized reified conceptualizations within their analyses. To cite one such example, Dunning and Curry (2004, p.46) have argued that certain aspects in the development of football and rugby as modern competitive sports can partly be linked to:

an educational transformation usually referred to as the “public school games cult”... There is no need to analyse these wider developments here. It is enough to note that the games cult help[ed] to establish social conditions conducive to the spread of football in its embryonic modern forms, above all playing a part in transforming what were destined to become soccer and rugby into status-enhancing activities for adult ‘gentlemen’.

There is a risk that this type of conceptualization can be misconstrued as indicating that an independent ‘games cult’ somehow existed independently from the people that operated within the nineteenth century public school system. However, this type of reification is much less common within figurational analyses, as a result of their use of the concept of figuration.

Figurational sociologists have also tended to avoid the type of reductionism and determinism that is evident in the work of other authors. It was noted in the previous chapter that there have been ongoing academic debates over the extent to which figurational sociologists have sought to explain the emergence and development of modern sports in relation to the increasing social control of violence (see Dunning, 1992;

Green et al., 2005; Malcolm, 2002, 2005; Stokvis, 1992, 2005). Stokvis (1992, 2005) has been critical of what he perceives to be a tendency for figurational sociologists to over-emphasize the increasing control of violence as an explanation for the development of more structured, regulated and rule-bound forms of modern sport. Figurational sociologists have refuted such claims, emphasizing that the development of modern sports was not based exclusively upon the increasing social control of violence during these periods, but that the pacification of society was nonetheless integral in facilitating the emergence of standardized rules and competitions between different locations (Green et al., 2005; Malcolm, 2002, 2005). There is scope for figurational sociologists to examine the development of a wider range of non-contact sports and activities in order to further test such contentions. But on a theoretical level, figurational sociologists do seem to have accounted for the interweaving of a much wider range of social, cultural, economic and political processes than other authors through the interrelated concepts of parliamentarization, sportization and civilizing processes. In this manner, it would seem that figurational sociologists have generally avoided the tendency to reduce the emergence and development of modern sports to the oppression of different groups or to mono-causal factors such as the economy or for that matter the increasing control of violence. This is an issue that can be further examined and tested during the course of this investigation through an examination of the development of the non-contact sport of competitive swimming.

Several criticisms have been levelled towards figurational sociologists for examining the development of modern sports within the framework of civilizing processes. Such criticisms have often corresponded to the belief amongst some authors that the theory of the civilizing process is 'evolutionary' (see Curtis, 1986; Eichberg, 1998; Giulianotti, 2005; J.A. Hargreaves, 1992; Horne and Jary, 1987; Tester, 1989). Others have suggested that the civilizing process is concerned with 'nineteenth-century ideas of social progress' (Lasch, 1985, p.713) or that it represents 'a form of teleological progression' (Collins, 2005, p.296). Figurational sociologists have rejected such criticisms and have emphasized that the civilizing process is not a theory of inevitable and linear progression (Curry et al., 2006; Dunning, 1989, 1992, 1993, 2002; Murphy, Sheard and Waddington, 2000). The civilizing process is outlined as a blind and uncontrolled social process that resulted, over time, from the complex interweaving of human actions within and throughout the wider social network (see Elias, 2000). In this manner, it is difficult to determine the basis on which other authors have claimed that

the civilizing process is a theory of 'inevitable' and 'evolutionary' progression. Such criticisms do not appear to be borne out from a thorough reading of the theoretical arguments underpinning the concept of the civilizing process.

Some authors have also been critical of what they perceive to be the limited methodological underpinning and inadequate empirical grounding for the theoretical explanations that some figurational sociologists have advanced (see Collins, 2005; Franklin, 1996; Tester, 1989; Vamplew, 2007). There are instances in which the level of empirical data underpinning some figurational analyses has been rather limited. Elias's (1986c) essay relating to the development of foxhunting is one such example. Indeed, figurational sociologists have acknowledged that Elias's level of empirical research was rather limited within that particular essay (see Malcolm, 2002, 2005; Murphy et al., 2000). Nevertheless, such examples do not detract too much from the more common approach amongst figurational sociologists of seeking to examine the emergence and development of modern sports through empirical research in order to provide a more adequate basis to test their theoretical explanations. Generally speaking, figurational sociologists have tended to avoid the production of abstract theoretical analyses through their engagement in empirical research.

Critical Marxists, hegemony theorists, feminists and figurational sociologists have all advocated different theoretical explanations for the emergence and development of modern sports in England in the period between the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Having outlined and critiqued these different theoretical explanations, it is evident that the proponents of some sociological paradigms can often be criticized for their tendencies towards reification, reductionism, determinism and the formation of abstract theoretical explanations. Figurational sociologists, it seems, have largely avoided such pitfalls within their analyses. On this basis, there appears to be greater potential to overcome many of the traditional limitations within sociological research conducted into the emergence and development of modern sports by utilizing a figurational framework in order to test the concept of sportization as a possible explanation for the emergence and development of swimming as a modern competitive sport. To this end, the theoretical concepts that underpin the figurational approach will be examined in the following chapter.

Chapter 3: Figurational Sociology

3.1 Introduction

Authors from different sociological paradigms have often approached theoretical issues such as the agency-structure debate and the conceptualization of power in different ways. It was argued in the previous chapter that there appears to be greater potential to overcome many of the theoretical and conceptual limitations that have been evident in the work of other sociologists by utilizing a figurational framework. Goudsblom (1977, p.6) has highlighted the following ‘points of departure’ for understanding the figurational approach:

- (1) Human beings are interdependent, in a variety of ways; their lives evolve in, and are significantly shaped by, the social figurations they form with each other.
- (2) These figurations are continually in flux, undergoing changes of different orders – some quick and ephemeral, others slower but perhaps more lasting.
- (3) The long-term developments taking place in human social figurations have been and continue to be largely unplanned and unforeseen.
- (4) The development of human knowledge takes place within human figurations, and forms one important aspect of their over-all development.

These four points are interrelated. However, the focus within this chapter will be upon the first three. This will provide a more adequate theoretical and conceptual basis to examine Goudsblom’s (1977) fourth point relating to the development of human knowledge in greater detail in the next chapter. The aim here is to outline some of the concepts that are utilized by figurational sociologists during their research. To this end, the concepts of interdependence, power, figurations, unintended consequences and blind social processes will be examined.

3.2 Interdependence

The concept of interdependence is an important starting point in order to understand the conceptual apparatus that is utilized by figurational sociologists. Elias (1978) was critical of the prevailing tendency amongst many sociologists to dichotomize between ‘agency’ and ‘structure’ or the ‘individual’ and ‘society’ within their theoretical explanations. For many sociologists, the concept of human agency has traditionally been used in order to describe the actions of individual people and the concept of

structure to describe a separate external society. Elias (1978, p.119) argued that this dichotomy is problematic in contributing to a general tendency amongst many sociologists to view people as ‘a kind of closed box’ that can somehow be isolated and detached from the ‘outside world’ that supposedly exists and operates around them. Figurational sociologists reject this dichotomy between the individual and society. Instead, Elias (1978, p.100) argued that ‘sociology is concerned with people; its central issues are their interdependencies’. Figurational sociologists argue that people cannot exist in isolation and so it is inappropriate, they argue, to view people as solitary individuals. Indeed, they argue that all people are and always have been involved in interdependent relationships with others (Dunning, 1999; Elias, 1978; Goudsblom, 1977). This point can be illustrated in relation to the fact that a newborn baby cannot survive unless it is nurtured by other people (Goudsblom, 1977). Similarly, people are born, survive, learn and reproduce through interdependent relationships with others (Dunning, 1999; Elias, 1978, 1991; Goudsblom, 1977). At the most basic level, the concept of interdependence can be used in order to describe relationships between friends, colleagues, mother and child, husband and wife, teacher and student, manager and employee or any other type of direct human relationship. However, the concept of interdependence is also related inextricably to those of power and figurations.

3.3 Power

Given the contention that all people are involved in interdependent relationships, it is important to understand that from a figurational perspective power ‘is a structural characteristic... of *all* human relationships’ (Elias, 1978, p.74; original emphasis). In other words, every interdependent human relationship is based upon a relationship of power between the individuals concerned. In this manner, figurational sociologists have argued that power cannot be viewed as an ‘item’ to somehow be attained, taken or controlled by individual people and thus power cannot adequately be described, they argue, in the type of static and reified terms that have often been utilized by other sociologists, as outlined in the previous chapter (Dunning, 2005; Elias, 1978; Murphy et al., 2000; Quilley and Loyal, 2004). Instead, figurational sociologists have argued that it is important to conceptualize power as an integral aspect of all interdependent human relationships in order to provide a more adequate basis to account for power as a fluid, relational and multi-dimensional concept. Whether people experience greater or lesser degrees of power within a particular situation, figurational sociologists argue that power is ‘always a question of relative balances... no one is ever absolutely powerful or

absolutely powerless' (Murphy et al., 2000, p.93). The balance of power within an interdependent relationship is constantly changing, they argue, over time and in different situations (Murphy et al., 2000). In addition, figurational sociologists have argued that power is a multi-dimensional concept. In other words, the relative power that is enjoyed within different situations can be based upon a range of 'power resources' (Dunning, 2005, p.5). For example, power resources such as strength, power and technique might underpin the relative power that is enjoyed by two boxers during the course of a bout. A different range of power resources such as intellectual or oratorical ability, self-confidence, experience, status and political affiliation might underpin the relative power that is enjoyed by two members of parliament during the course of a debate. In this manner, figurational sociologists have argued that power, as a fluid, relational and multi-dimensional concept, can be described as 'an enabling and constraining feature of human relations' (Jarvie and Maguire, 1994, p.134).

The interdependent relationship between a lifeguard and swimmer at a public swimming baths is a possible example to illustrate the concept of power that is utilized by figurational sociologists. As in any interdependent human relationship, there is a balance of power between these two individuals. If we assume that the swimmer is abiding by the rules and regulations of the leisure facility and that the lifeguard is actively conducting their duties by observing the behaviour of all of the swimmers, then we can also assume that the lifeguard would occupy a greater position of power within this scenario. In other words, the lifeguard is the authority figure who is there not only to save lives, but also to ensure that swimmers abide by the rules and regulations. In this manner, the swimmer is constrained to behave in certain ways around the pool in accordance with the rules and regulations and the directions of the lifeguard. However, power differentials are subject to change over time and in different situations. For example, supposing that the swimmer in this scenario were a local councillor, this individual would effectively be the lifeguard's employer. The councillor would still be required to abide by the rules, regulations and directions of the lifeguard whilst swimming. Yet there would be many instances beyond the confines of the swimming pool in which the local councillor would enjoy greater power chances than the lifeguard. This brief example can be used in order to demonstrate the type of fluctuation that can take place within any interdependent power relationship over time and in different situations. In this manner, figurational sociologists account for power as a relational,

multi-dimensional and fluctuating concept that is integral to all forms of human interaction and that varies from one social situation to another.

3.4 Figurations

The concepts of interdependence and power are inextricable from that of the 'figuration'. For example, Jarvie and Maguire (1994, p.133) have argued that 'the concept of figuration... refers to the webs of interdependence which link and both constrain and enable the actions of individuals'. In other words, the concept of figuration can be used in order to describe interdependent people and the power relations between them. All of the examples of direct interdependent relationships mentioned above, such as the relationship between lifeguard and swimmer, are basic human figurations. However, the concept of figuration can also be utilized in order to describe the interweaving of interdependent relationships within much larger groups. For example, Quilley and Loyal (2004, p.6) have argued that 'the concept of figurations applies equally to interdependencies between small groups of individuals, and larger groups associated with cities, race and caste... classes... nation-states... and ultimately humanity as a whole'. Similarly, the concept of figuration can be used in order to describe networks of interdependencies between other social groups who constitute schools, colleges, universities, businesses, corporations, clubs, societies and associations. From a figurational perspective, it is important to emphasize that people 'exist... only as pluralities, only in figurations' (Elias, 2000, p.482).

Figurational sociologists have argued that the concept of figuration can be utilized in order to overcome the problem of agency and structure that has often been evident in the work of many other sociologists. For example, van Krieken (1998, p.59; original emphases) has argued that social 'structures *are* figurations, they can only be understood as being *constituted* by acting human beings'. In other words, figurational sociologists have argued that so-called social 'structures' cannot 'exist' or 'act' as though they are independent from human action. Those aspects of social life that have often been described by other academics as external social structures must instead be viewed, they argue, as figurations of interdependent people (Dunning, 1986b; Elias, 1978, 1991, 2000). In this manner, the concept of figuration is an important means to avoid the traditional agency/structure division and the reification of social forces by providing a more adequate conceptual basis to examine the networks of interdependent relationships between the people and groups who comprise figurations (Dunning, 2002).

3.5 Unintended Consequences

The interweaving of people's actions within figurations is complex because of the differential power relations involved. The inherent complexity of the concept of figuration stems from the fact that 'as societies grow larger, all members can no longer know each other personally' (Goudsblom, 1977, p.32). Nevertheless, figurational sociologists argue that people who have never met can still impact upon one another through complex networks of interdependencies. In other words, people can be enabled and constrained to act in certain ways in accordance with the interweaving actions of other people and other groups within and throughout wider social networks of power-relations (Elias, 1991; Jarvie and Maguire, 1994; Mennell, 1998). People continue to interact with their own particular intentions in mind. However, whenever a person behaves in a particular manner their action 'becomes interwoven with those of others; it unleashes further chains of actions, the direction and provisional outcome of which depend not on him [sic] but on the distribution of power and the structure of tensions within this whole mobile human network' (Elias, 1991, p.49-50). As larger numbers of people interact within and throughout increasingly complex networks of power relations, figurational sociologists contend that there is a relative decline in the power chances that individual people can enjoy as their more-or-less goal-directed actions become increasingly entwined with those of others (Elias, 1978). In this manner, figurational sociologists have argued that the continued interweaving of many individual acts alongside the actions of large numbers of other people and groups lead to intended and unintended outcomes (Murphy et al., 2000).

The figurational dynamics that have been outlined above can be illustrated in relation to the large numbers of men, women and children who interact whilst travelling around any British city. These individuals constitute a figuration of interdependent people. Drivers, pedestrians and cyclists interact on the streets as they move around a city with intentions to undertake their own errands, tasks, roles and pursuits. Such individuals are constrained to act in certain ways in accordance with accepted social norms, laws and regulations as they travel around the city. The requirement to abide by the rules and regulations of the Highway Code is a good example of the manner in which people's actions can be enabled and constrained through complex chains of interdependence. These regulations have been enacted and revised by different groups over previous years and decades. The overwhelming majority of people do not know those individuals

who were involved in the formation and revision of these regulations. Nevertheless, many people's actions are constrained on a daily basis by the rules that were enacted by such groups. For example, people must interact with other road users in accordance with these rules whilst responding to the movements and signals of others during their journeys. For this reason, it is important to appreciate that the complex interweaving of the actions of large numbers of people moving around a city can lead to unintended consequences. There are numerous examples to illustrate the manner in which people might have to modify their behaviour without originally having set out to do so. For example, drivers might be required to stop at traffic lights or people might be delayed in heavy congestion if large numbers of drivers are travelling on the same route at the same time. Other people might be required to queue for long periods in order to gain access to public transport or be constrained to wait for a suitable opportunity to walk across a busy road. A more extreme example of unintended consequences might be an accidental collision between two or more drivers. It is important to appreciate that people are both enabled and constrained through their interactions with others and that the interweaving of people's actions through lengthened chains of interdependence can contribute to a range of intended and unintended outcomes.

3.6 Blind Social Processes

It is also important to appreciate that 'figurations of interdependent individuals and groups can only be properly understood as existing over time, in a constant process of dynamic flux and greater or lesser transformation' (van Krieken, 1998, p.65). In other words, it is necessary to consider the concept of figurations from a long-term developmental perspective in order to appreciate that human interdependencies are constantly subject to processes of change. As people interact, the result of their interweaving actions within complex networks of interdependence is the occurrence of intended and unintended consequences. Figural sociologists have argued that the complex interweaving of intended and unintended consequences gradually contributes, over time, to the occurrence of long-term blind social processes that have not, and cannot, be planned or implemented by individual people (Dunning, 1986b, 1989; Elias, 1978, 1991, 2000; Goudsblom, 1977; Murphy et al., 2000). The implication of human figurations as constantly changing and processual networks of interdependence is that 'a temporal dimension... is crucial to understanding the workings of human social life' (van Krieken, 1998, p.49). In other words, figural sociologists argue that it is necessary to undertake a longer-term developmental analysis of these complex and

processual networks of interdependence in order to understand the occurrence of any social situation in a more adequate manner.

The concept of long-term unintended and blind social processes can be demonstrated in relation to the fact that people are today expected to wear swimming costumes at their local public baths. Wearing costumes is an intentional human action. However, the emergence of the present social conditions in which people are now constrained to wear such costumes has been the result of the long-term interweaving of unplanned and unintended social processes. For example, Goudsblom (1977, p.149) has argued that ‘yesterday’s unintended social consequences are today’s unintended social conditions of “intentional human actions”’. People have continued to act throughout previous years, decades and centuries with their own intentions in mind. Their intended actions intermix with those of other people within, throughout and across complex figurational networks. This complex interweaving of human actions results, over time, in the occurrence of long-term unplanned and unintended social processes and thus unintentionally produces the present social circumstances in which people now interact. For example, there is evidence that males and females were accustomed to openly bathing together naked during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Cock, 2006, 2008). However, there was a gradual trend in the period between the Middle-Ages and the early twentieth century towards gender-segregation and towards males and females wearing costumes whilst swimming and bathing. Such developments were underpinned by a gradual lowering in the threshold of repugnance as people began to experience heightened feelings of shame and embarrassment at the prospect of appearing naked or witnessing the nudity of other people and, as such, can be explained in relation to long-term civilizing processes (Cock, 2006, 2008). Elias (2000, p.365) emphasized that such civilizing trends ‘did not spring from a rational idea conceived centuries ago by individual people and then implanted in one generation after another as the purpose of action and the desired state’. That people are now constrained to wear swimming costumes in their local swimming baths is not an outcome that has been planned and implemented by individual people over previous centuries. Instead, people now behave in this quite deliberate way as a result of the interweaving of long-term unplanned and unintended blind social processes within and throughout complex figurational networks of interdependence.

These concepts of interdependence, power, figurations and unintended and blind social processes underpin the conceptual apparatus that is utilized by figurational sociologists.

This framework will be utilized in order to examine the emergence and development of swimming as a competitive sport in the period between the late sixteenth and early twentieth centuries. This type of long-term processual analysis is important in order to test whether it can provide a more adequate basis to examine the long-term unintended and blind social processes that contributed to the emergence and development of swimming as a modern competitive sport in England during these periods. To this end, it is important to appreciate that whenever any social groups or organizations are referred to within the following chapters, all such groups are to be understood as figurations of interdependent people. The figurational approach to knowledge, and the research methods that will be utilized for examining the emergence and development of competitive swimming, is examined next.

Chapter 4: Methods

4.1 Introduction

Having outlined some of the theoretical concepts that underpin the figurational framework, it is important to consider the development of knowledge from a figurational perspective. This is particularly important given the contention that ‘a figurational approach questions many of the conventional, taken for granted assumptions within social research methods’ (Bloyce, 2004a, p.144). Many sociologists have traditionally attempted to justify their chosen research methods in relation to ontological and epistemological considerations (Henn, Weinstein and Foard, 2009). The traditional concepts of ontology and epistemology will briefly be outlined and critiqued within this chapter. The method of documentary analysis that was utilized within this research will then be described. In particular, the processes that were involved in the generation and analysis of research data will be outlined. The aim is to justify the methods that were utilized within this thesis from a figurational perspective.

4.2 Ontology, Epistemology and the Figurational Approach to Knowledge

Given that many sociologists have traditionally attempted to justify their chosen research methods in relation to ontological and epistemological considerations, it is important to appreciate that ‘ontology is a set of assumptions about what the world *is*, and epistemology is a way of knowing about that world which reflects these assumptions’ (Henn et al., 2009, p.18; original emphasis). The ontological viewpoint of a researcher is related to their own ideas and beliefs about the focal point of their studies (Benton and Craib, 2001; Sarantakos, 2005). For example, Bryman (2008, p.18) has argued that:

the central point of orientation here is the question of whether social entities can and should be considered objective entities that have a reality external to social actors, or whether they can and should be considered social constructions built up from the perceptions and actions of social actors.

The traditional dichotomy between agency and structure has already been critiqued from a figurational perspective within the preceding chapter. Nevertheless, it is important to appreciate that many sociologists have traditionally adopted either a micro or macro approach within their investigations. These different theoretical approaches to

the research process are related to the underpinning ontological viewpoints of such sociologists. In this respect, different epistemological perspectives have been deemed more appropriate for examining social structures than those that have often been utilized for examining the actions, thoughts and feelings of individual people (Bryman, 2008; Gratton and Jones, 2004; Henn et al., 2009). Bryman (2008, p.13) has argued that ‘a particularly central issue in this context is the question of whether the social world can and should be studied according to the same principles, procedures, and ethos as the natural sciences’. The answer to this question has traditionally resulted in the depiction of two contrasting epistemological paradigms for conducting social research. Those sociologists who have advocated the analysis of social structures have tended to adopt the same techniques that are employed in the natural sciences by utilizing a positivist research paradigm. The positivist approach is characterized as encompassing objectivity, a deductive approach to theory and a quantitative approach to research (Bryman, 2008; Gratton and Jones, 2004; Henn et al., 2009). In contrast, those sociologists who argue that different techniques are required in order to examine the actions, thoughts and feelings of individual people have often opposed the use of the natural sciences as a template for conducting research within the social sciences. Instead, such authors have adopted the epistemological paradigm of interpretivism, which is based upon subjectivity, an inductive approach to theory and a qualitative approach to research (Bryman, 2008; Gratton and Jones, 2004; Henn et al., 2009). In other words, these positivist and interpretivist perspectives have often been described as diametrically opposed approaches to conducting social research. Indeed, several authors have indicated that many researchers have traditionally sought to conform to these perspectives on the basis of their ontological and epistemological leanings (Bryman, 2008; Gratton and Jones, 2004; Henn et al., 2009).

There is a general perception amongst figurational sociologists that traditional ontological and epistemological approaches are inadequate for describing the research process. For example, figurational sociologists have argued that the traditional distinction between ontology and epistemology is ‘a false dichotomy’ because these concepts are ‘integrally related... knowledge and reality are not separate entities; they are part of the same process’ (Bloyce, 2004a, p.146). In other words, figurational sociologists have argued that it is inappropriate to dichotomize between the concepts of ontology and epistemology because knowledge is generated on the basis of our perceptions of social reality. This means that the concepts of ontology and epistemology

must necessarily be interrelated. For this reason, figurational sociologists have argued that allowing the research process to be dictated by strict adherence to such approaches potentially ‘distorts the research issue from the outset’ (Bloyce, 2004a, p.146). Given the relative inadequacy of traditional ontological and epistemological conceptualizations of the research process, it is important to examine those concepts that are utilized by figurational sociologists. In order to provide a basis for comparison, the figurational approach will be discussed in relation to traditional positivist and interpretivist perspectives.

4.2.1 Involvement and Detachment

In accordance with the tendency for natural scientists to extol the importance of objectivity in the research process, many positivist researchers in the social sciences have advocated the same belief that ‘science must... be conducted in a way that is value free’ in an attempt to ensure that research is untainted by personal views and opinions (Bryman, 2008, p.13). In contrast, those researchers who adopt an interpretivist perspective have often claimed to utilize a subjective approach in order to allow them to identify with their participants during the research process and better understand their experiences, thoughts and feelings (Henn et al., 2009). Figurational sociologists reject this traditional dichotomy between objectivity and subjectivity. Indeed, Elias (1987, p.3) has argued that the concepts of objectivity and subjectivity are both flawed and unattainable:

One cannot say of a person’s outlook in any sense that it is detached or involved... Only small babies, and among adults perhaps only insane people, become involved in whatever they experience with complete abandon to their feelings here and now; and again only the insane can remain totally unmoved by what goes on around them.

Figurational sociologists emphasize that all people are interdependent with others and argue that researchers are themselves enmeshed within figurational networks (Maguire, 1988). The notion of value-neutral objectivity is flawed, they argue, because all sociologists are necessarily involved in the human processes that they strive to examine within their research. For example, Maguire (1988, p.189) has argued that ‘sociologists cannot cease to take part’ within figurational networks and that ‘their very participation and involvement is itself one of the conditions for comprehending the problem they try

to solve as scientists'. It is for these reasons that figurational sociologists have rejected the traditional dichotomy between objectivity and subjectivity and instead argued that it is important to consider 'the problem in terms of *degrees* of involvement and detachment' (Murphy et al., 2000, p.94; original emphasis). In other words, figurational sociologists have argued that greater or lesser involvement is unavoidable within the research process and can often be important for maintaining interest in the topic of investigation and for understanding the processes being examined. However, the level of involvement that is experienced when conducting research must be mitigated by an attempt to analyze research findings in the most detached manner possible (Dunning, 1992, 1999, 2002). In this respect, the concept of involvement and detachment is not a simplistic dichotomy (Kilminster, 2004). Instead, figurational sociologists have argued that blends of involvement and detachment are both important in the research process (Dunning, 1999). It is possible for a researcher to be highly involved in their topic of investigation whilst also striving to attain a relatively high degree of detachment in the examination of their research data.

Given that figurational sociologists recognize the importance of both involvement and detachment in the research process, there is a corresponding view that it is impossible for value-neutral research to be produced. For this reason, figurational sociologists argue that 'researchers can realistically only aspire to develop explanations that have a greater degree of adequacy than preceding explanations' (Murphy et al., 2000, p.94). In other words, researchers should constantly strive to produce explanations with greater degrees of reality-congruence whilst acknowledging that no explanation can be entirely definitive or conclusive. To this end, figurational sociologists argue that it is important to engage in a 'detour-via-detachment' (Mennell, 1998, p.207). This process is an important means for developing a more adequate understanding of research data and the topic of investigation by endeavouring to remain as detached as possible from personal beliefs and opinions whilst involved in the research process (Bloyce, 2004a; Dunning, 1992; Dunning and Sheard, 2005; Elias, 1987). Furthermore, the concept of the detour-via-detachment is also linked to that of 'secondary re-involvement' (Dunning, 1992, p.254). Figurational sociologists have argued that the aim is to utilize the more adequate understandings that have been developed from the detour-via-detachment in order to facilitate a more reality-congruent response to the problems or issues at hand (Dunning, 1992; Dunning and Sheard, 2005). In this manner, there is the potential through secondary re-involvement to influence practical situations such as the development of

more adequate political interventions and policies or a more reality-congruent response to a scientific problem that has been outlined within a research thesis.

The aim of this thesis is to strive towards greater detachment to provide a more adequate explanation of the gradual emergence and development of swimming as a modern competitive sport. Bloyce (2004a, p.150) has argued that involvement and detachment is 'a sensitising concept' and that 'being aware of the need to strive to remain as detached as possible is, specifically, enough to sensitise the researcher'. In addition, figurational sociologists have outlined certain techniques that might also be utilized in order to facilitate greater detachment within the research process. For example, Maguire (1988, p.190) has argued that greater levels of detachment might be facilitated by the 'adoption of a long-term developmental perspective'. Generally speaking, many people, he argues, tend to be more involved and concerned about events that have taken place in recent periods. In this manner, the use of a longer-term developmental approach can, at times, facilitate greater detachment within the research process (Dunning, 1992; Maguire, 1988). In addition, Dunning (1992, p.253) has argued that greater detachment might be facilitated by relating 'your work to the existing body of knowledge in your field' in order to locate theoretical and empirical arguments within the context of the wider 'social fund of knowledge'. A long-term developmental perspective will be utilized within this thesis in order to examine the emergence and development of swimming as a modern competitive sport in the period between the late sixteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition, the empirical and theoretical arguments that are outlined within the remaining chapters will be related to existing literature on the development of modern sports. This type of approach will provide an appropriate theoretical and conceptual basis to strive towards greater detachment whilst conducting this research and thus to endeavour to explain the emergence and development of swimming as a modern competitive sport in a more reality-congruent manner.

4.2.2 Quantitative and Qualitative Research

Those researchers who adopt a positivist perspective in order to focus upon macro level analysis have tended to advocate a quantitative approach to research. This corresponds to the belief among positivist researchers that it is possible to utilize the same techniques that are adopted within the natural sciences from a standpoint of methodological objectivity. Positivist researchers have often argued that human

thoughts, feelings and ideas are relatively vague and elusive concepts and that such issues are, therefore, unsuitable for scientific research (Henn et al., 2009). Instead, positivist researchers have tended to focus upon conducting research at a structural level by focussing upon issues ‘such as pay, skill levels, training opportunities, degree of democracy in the workplace, whether trades are unionised, local unemployment rates, and so on’ (Henn et al., 2009, p.14). Positivist researchers have often argued that such issues are easier to determine and to assess in a precise, accurate and objective manner (Henn et al., 2009). The desire for objectivity within the research process has often led positivist researchers to utilize quantitative research methods such as questionnaires and statistical analyses in the belief that their subsequent research will be more precise and scientifically valid (Henn et al., 2009). This emphasis differs to more qualitative approaches that are often utilized by researchers who adopt an interpretivist perspective. Interpretivist researchers place greater emphasis upon micro level analysis and reject the use of the natural sciences as a template for conducting social research. Instead, interpretivists have traditionally advocated a qualitative approach to the research process. They have argued that qualitative research techniques such as interviews and focus groups are more appropriate for generating subjective information relating to the thoughts, feelings and ideas of individual people (Gratton and Jones, 2004).

Figurational sociologists have described the traditional distinction between quantitative and qualitative research as ‘a false dichotomy’ due to the contention that ‘quantitative research rests on qualitative assumption at the initial and interpretative stages’ (Bloyce, 2004a, p.153). Similarly, the adoption of a broadly qualitative approach can still require the researcher to examine basic forms of numerical data that might be uncovered whilst engaged in the research process. Rather than strictly adhering to a particular quantitative or qualitative approach simply because it is dictated by a researcher’s ontological and epistemological leanings, figurational sociologists ‘argue that the methodological framework flows from the nature of the problem to be investigated’ (Bloyce, 2004a, p.154). In other words, figurational sociologists do not consider any particular research approach to be inherently superior to any other. The aim for figurational sociologists is to produce the most reality-congruent study possible by utilizing those quantitative and/or qualitative research techniques that are the most suitable for addressing the problem at hand (Bloyce, 2004a). The main concern for figurational sociologists is to ensure that methods are used in order to take account of the processual nature of figurations by enabling any research topic to be analyzed from a long-term

developmental perspective (Bloyce, 2004a). The importance of this point was examined in the preceding chapter in relation to the concept of human figurations and the occurrence of long-term blind social processes. The aim of this thesis is to utilize a broadly qualitative form of documentary analysis in order to examine the sportization of swimming from a long-term perspective throughout the period between the late sixteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, Bryman (2008, p.388) has argued that within ‘qualitative research... there is often a concern to show how events and patterns unfold over time. As a result, qualitative evidence often conveys a strong sense of change and flux’. In this manner, it can be argued that the adoption of a broadly qualitative approach is more conducive to examining the long-term processes that were involved in the development of swimming as a modern competitive sport. However, this type of broad qualitative approach does not preclude the use of quantitative techniques or numerical forms of data in those instances when this might become necessary.

4.2.3 Deductive and Inductive Research

A dichotomy has also traditionally been drawn between the deductive approach to theory that has been utilized by positivist researchers and the inductive approach that has often been adopted from an interpretivist perspective. The use of a deductive approach to theory amongst positivist researchers can be linked to the adoption of the same scientific principles that are utilized within the natural sciences. Just as natural scientists have often proposed a hypothesis and then sought to determine the accuracy of their theoretical contention by undertaking research, many positivist researchers have often applied the same approach to the production of theory within the social sciences (Gratton and Jones, 2004; Henn et al., 2009). In other words, the positivist method of deduction can be described as a ‘*theory-then-research* approach’ (Henn et al., 2009, p.14; original emphasis). This differs to the inductive approach that has often been adopted by interpretivist researchers. From an interpretivist perspective, it is important to examine people’s thoughts, feelings and ideas in a subjective manner in order to understand their point of view. Interpretivist researchers have often tended to develop their theoretical explanations after conducting their research. In other words, the interpretivist method of induction can be described as ‘a *research-then-theory* approach’ (Henn et al., 2009, p.16; original emphasis).

Figurational sociologists describe this traditional deductive/inductive distinction of either testing or producing theoretical explanations as ‘a false dichotomy’ and instead

‘advocate an ongoing relationship between theory and research in which both are refined in respect to one another’ (Bloyce, 2004a, p.152-153). In other words, figurational sociologists argue that existing knowledge should form the basis for future empirical investigation. The subsequent process of conducting research should result in existing explanations being tested. If there are limitations with existing theoretical explanations, then an attempt should be made to reconsider or refine such explanations in view of research findings (Bloyce, 2004a). This is not a dichotomous approach in which theory is either tested or produced. Instead, it is necessary for theoretical explanations to be tested and, where necessary, further developed within the research process (Bloyce, 2004a). Moreover, figurational sociologists have argued that this approach to testing and refining theoretical explanations is another potential method for researchers to strive towards greater detachment within the research process. For example, Dunning (1992, p.253) has argued that ‘an orientation towards the “two-way traffic” between theory and observation’ can facilitate greater detachment by encouraging researchers to test rather than merely implement theoretical explanations. In this manner, the aim of this thesis is to test the relative adequacy of the concept of sportization as an explanation for the emergence and development of swimming as a modern competitive sport. This will involve a process of empirical investigation and theoretical reflection in order to provide a more adequate basis to contribute to the development of existing empirical and theoretical knowledge.

4.3 Research Method: Documentary Analysis

The figurational approach to methods would seem to offer a more adequate means of conceptualizing the research process than the traditional positivist/interpretivist dichotomy. On this basis, it is important to examine the research methods that were utilized within this investigation. The requirement to adopt a long-term developmental perspective in order to investigate the blind social processes that contributed to the gradual emergence and development of swimming as a modern competitive sport necessitated the use of an appropriate research method. The requisite period for many developments within the emerging sport of swimming was the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, it was important to extend this analysis beyond the nineteenth century and back towards the Middle-Ages, where possible, in order to place the development of competitive swimming into an appropriate long-term context. Documentary analysis was the only research method through which this type of coverage could realistically be achieved (Gray, 2004). Numerous authors have referred

to the range of documentary evidence that might be available for the purpose of conducting research (Denscombe, 2007; Finnegan, 2006; Gratton and Jones, 2004; Gray, 2004; Henn et al., 2009; May, 2001; Polley, 2007). For example, May (2001, p.178-179) has argued that the range of potential documentary sources might include ‘laws, declarations, statutes... official statistics... government records... the content of the mass media, novels, plays, maps, drawings, books, the internet... personal documents such as biographies, autobiographies, diaries and oral histories... [and] photographs’. One of the main issues was to determine what types of documentary sources should be examined whilst conducting research on the long-term development of swimming as a modern competitive sport.

4.3.1 Archives and Repositories

Given the topic of investigation within this thesis, it was important to negotiate access to the private archives of the ASA. Indeed, the following comments relating to the archival records of national governing bodies are worth repeating in detail:

this material is a way into the personalities, the power groups, and the politics that are involved in the formation of any body. It is particularly useful for the early days of any governing body. In line with the theme of invented traditions... governing bodies typically present their own birth in straightforward terms: detailed analysis of the records of origin tells us how complicated these matters really were... Such records are also invaluable for evidence of the day-to-day running of any sport for which they survive. While this material may seem, on the face of it, to be dry in comparison to press coverage and players’ memoirs, there is no substitute for getting into the archives of a sports organisation to see that sport’s development (Polley, 2007, p.100-101).

It is evident from these comments that it would be difficult to examine the sportization of swimming in sufficient detail without attempting to examine the people, processes and power relations that were involved in the emergence and development of the NGB of the sport. Various resources were held within the archives of the ASA since its inception in 1869. For example, the various original minute books from the periods 1869-1886 were examined during the course of this research. These items included annual financial statements, minutes of the annual general meetings (AGM) as well as the operational meetings of the Association that were typically held on a monthly basis.

Unfortunately, the minute book and financial records for the period 8 June 1886 – 13 April 1894 were unavailable having previously been lost or misplaced within the archives of the ASA. The next available minute book included the financial records and minutes for the AGMs of the ASA from the period 1894-1902 and a separate book had also been maintained for the minutes of the operational meetings of the ASA Committee from 1894-1903. In addition to these original minute books, copies of the ASA annual handbooks since 1902 were analyzed. These handbooks contain a range of information including the annual financial statement and minutes of the AGM and committee meetings from the previous year. Moreover, these handbooks include annual updates of ASA constitutional and competition laws, lists of annual championships and national records and a range of information relating to swimming in different areas of the country. Consequently, ASA handbooks from the period 1902-1909 were also examined during the course of this research. In this manner, a total of six original minute books and eight annual ASA handbooks were examined.

As an important national repository for extensive collections of a wide range of source material, the British Library was another archival facility that was utilized during the course of this research. Sleeman (2002, p.221) has argued that such ‘archives were once the most inaccessible type of research resource... just finding out which collections were held by the different archives involved quite a lot of research’. The availability of an online library catalogue was important for determining the resources that were available within British Library collections. The potential benefits of this approach were two-fold: (a) conducting a search of the online catalogue provided a basis to generate a list of relevant documentary sources from across the period of investigation; and (b) it was likely that the majority of items would subsequently be available for open access in the British Library and Colindale National Newspaper Library. An advanced search of the *British Library Integrated Catalogue* (<http://catalogue.bl.uk>) was, therefore, conducted in July 2010. The criteria were to search for the word ‘swimming’ and to search by ‘words anywhere’ within each record.¹ A restriction to encompass only those items published in the period between ‘1000-1908’ was also included.² This search

¹ The other search term that was considered was that of ‘bathing’. However, having previously conducted research on the topic of swimming and bathing (Cock, 2006), it was evident from prior experience that additional use of the term ‘bathing’ would have been unsuitable for conducting research on the sportization of swimming, given the type of evidence that had previously been uncovered within the type of documents that would have been returned.

² When implementing a date restriction in the *British Library Integrated Catalogue*, it is necessary to set the parameters between two designated years. The decision to restrict the period of analysis up to and including the year 1908 has already been explained in preceding chapters. Setting the earlier restriction to

returned a list of 165 items. In addition, the same criteria were utilized in order to conduct another search of the *British Library Integrated Catalogue*, but with an additional restriction to search only the newspaper catalogue sub-set. This search returned a list of 14 items. These lists included repetition of certain items, erroneous results such as sources that had been published much later than the designated cut-off point and various documents that were either no longer available or too fragile to use. In addition, the print-run of numerous periodicals had been divided between different catalogue records. Both of these lists were refined in order to account for such issues. A total of 62 books from across the period between 1538 and 1907 were subsequently found to be available and were examined during the course of this research. Many of these items can be described as early swimming ‘manuals’ that were intended to instruct people in contemporary methods of swimming. However, many authors also commented more generally upon the manner in which swimming was utilized amongst their contemporaries. In addition, the full print-runs of six swimming-based periodicals were available that had been published in the periods 1873-1874, 1880, 1884-1886, 1895, 1898-1899 and 1907. These periodicals were also examined during the course of this research. Such items often contained fixtures, results and reports of contemporary swimming competitions as well as articles, correspondence and editorials relating to many issues within the emerging sport of swimming.

4.3.2 Electronic Data Sources

There have been notable advances in recent years in the digitization of primary source material. For the researcher, this means that it is now possible to access certain documents via the internet that were previously only available at those archives or repositories in which an original hard-copy document was located (Stebbins, 2006). This corresponds to the perception within methodological literature that the potential benefits of conducting research via digital archives include the relative ease with which primary source material can increasingly be sought and accessed (Denscombe, 2007). Given the range of search options that may potentially be available when utilizing digital archives, it is important for researchers to ‘provide methodological transparency’ regarding the search terms and techniques that are utilized in the collection of electronic data (Roy, Faulkner and Finlay, 2007, para.28). The intention of this thesis was to

the year 1000 was initially based upon the simple requirement to select a date. The earliest item in subsequent results was dated 1538. By setting the starting point to the year 1000 it had been possible to demonstrate that no other items relating to the search term ‘swimming’ had been returned from the 537 year period prior to 1538. On this basis, it was possible to focus upon those items that had been returned from 1538-1908.

utilize electronic data in order to supplement the hard-copy documentary sources that were examined at the archives of the ASA, British Library and Colindale Newspaper Library. In particular, it was evident from examination of hard-copy data that there were particular areas and issues relating to the development of swimming as a modern competitive sport for which information within hard-copy material was limited, deficient or unavailable. Many electronic databases can be utilized in a relatively targeted manner by narrowing down the search terms that are used and placing restrictions upon the type of searches that are conducted. In this manner, the intention was to focus upon targeted issues and themes in order to supplement the type of information that was available within hard-copy documentary sources.

One of the main target areas was to focus in greater detail upon earlier forms of competitive swimming. Information had been uncovered within hard-copy documents relating to general forms of swimming in the periods between the sixteenth century and the formation of the Associated Metropolitan Swimming Clubs (AMSC) in 1869.³ However, information relating to early competition-based forms of swimming from these periods was rather limited within hard-copy documentary sources. Consequently, electronic databases were utilized in an attempt to uncover more detailed information relating to early forms of swimming clubs, societies, associations and races from the periods prior to 1869. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* was the first database to be utilized for this purpose.⁴ Three different collections can be searched simultaneously within this database. The first two are *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* and *Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Part II: New Editions*. These two collections incorporate approximately 136,000 and 50,000 items, respectively, including ‘books, pamphlets, essays, broadsides and more’ (Gale Cengage Learning, 2009a). There is also an option to search within a third external collection via this database. This is the *Early English Books Online* collection, which includes approximately 100,000 books that were published predominantly between 1473 and 1700 (Early English Books Online, 2011). If results are returned from *Early English Books Online*, it is possible to follow a link directly to that collection in order to access relevant material. When conducting a simultaneous search of all three of these collections, the items that are available within *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* span the period from the late fifteenth to the end of the eighteenth century.

³ The AMSC was the original name of the ASA.

⁴ *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* was accessed via the databases website of Gale Cengage Learning (http://infotrac.galegroup.com/itweb?athens_ident=yes).

A general keyword search for the term 'swimming' was conducted within this database in January 2011 with the requirement to 'include Early English Books Online' in order to determine whether any swimming-specific books or texts were available within this database. The use of these search criteria returned 154 results, which were all examined. Additional searches were conducted in an attempt to uncover specific examples or indicators of early forms of competitive swimming. Searches for swimming associations, clubs and societies did not return any results. However, various searches were also conducted to identify examples of early swimming races from the periods prior to the nineteenth century (see table 4.1). The main process for identifying the search terms that were utilized was through a combination of trial-and-error as well as engagement with hard-copy archival material. For example, it had been possible to identify a range of terms that had been applied to swimming-based competitions during the nineteenth century whilst engaged in the analysis of hard-copy material. This provided an initial basis to experiment with certain phrases within these searches. Quotation marks were placed around these search terms in order to ensure that these exact phrases were utilized. In addition, these terms were sought within the full-text of every documentary source within this database by utilizing the option to search within the entire document.

Table 4.1: Advanced Searches in *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* for Early Swimming Races (Conducted January 2011)

Search Term(s)	Search In	Restrictions	Results
“swimming challenge”	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	0
“swimming championship”	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	0
“swimming competition”	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	0
“swimming contest”	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	0
“swimming entertainment”	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	1
“swimming fete”	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	0
“swimming gala”	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	0
“swimming match”	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	3
“swimming race”	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	2
“swimming regatta”	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	0
“swimming wager”	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	0

These six results were examined. However, the above search terms were subsequently revised through the use of additional search techniques that could be utilized within this database. The wildcard search option (*) was utilized in order to provide greater flexibility in the type of searches that were conducted. For example, the term ‘swim*’ could be utilized in order to facilitate a more open-ended search for terms such as swim, swimming, swimmer or swims. In addition, it was possible to use an option to search for certain words that were printed in close proximity within a document. For example, the term ‘n10’ could be used in order to search for certain words that were written within ten words of one another within a document. The combination of these techniques provided a possible basis to uncover documents in which a term such as ‘swimming challenge’ might not have been utilized, but one person might have been ‘challenged to swim against’ another. The following searches were conducted and returned a larger number of additional documents that were also examined (see table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Advanced Searches in *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* for Early Forms of Competitive Swimming (Conducted January 2011)

Search Term(s)	Search In	Restrictions	Results
swim* n10 challenge*	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	10
swim* n10 championship*	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	0
swim* n10 compet*	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	8
swim* n10 contest*	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	13
swim* n10 entertainment*	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	15
swim* n10 fete*	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	4
swim* n10 gala*	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	17
swim* n10 match*	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	111
swim* n10 race*	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	145
swim* n10 regatta*	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	0
swim* n10 wage*	Entire Document	Include Early English Books Online	31

The second electronic database to be utilized during the course of this investigation was *Gale Newsvault*.⁵ This database includes five full-text collections that can be searched simultaneously. The *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers* is a collection of 1,270 different sources that are classified as newspapers, manuscripts, monographs, pamphlets, newsbooks, serials, broadsides or forms. Many of these items appear to have been limited to single editions or relatively short print-runs (Gale Cengage Learning, n.d.[a]). There are two separate *19th Century British Library Newspapers* collections incorporated within this database. 49 local and regional newspapers from the nineteenth century are included in Part One of the collection and a further 22 local and regional newspapers in Part Two (Appendices A and B). The *19th Century UK Periodicals: New Readerships* is a collection of 90 different periodicals published during the nineteenth century (Appendix C). The final collection, *The Times Digital Archive*, spans the period 1785-1985 (Gale Cengage Learning, 2009b). In other words, there is potential to search items from across the period between the seventeenth century and 1985 when a simultaneous search of all five of these collections is conducted. In this manner, there

⁵ *Gale Newsvault* was also accessed via the databases website of Gale Cengage Learning (http://infotrac.galegroup.com/itweb?athens_ident=yes).

were numerous potential benefits to utilizing this database. For example, *Gale Newsvault* was another platform to search for information relating to early competition-based forms of swimming before 1869. Moreover, this database could also be utilized in order to examine additional target areas from the mid-to-late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition, the fact that this database includes electronic holdings for a range of local and national newspapers and periodicals was important in facilitating access to alternative forms of data than the types of books and texts that had already been examined in hard-copy format and that had yielded few results within these target areas.

Numerous searches were conducted in relation to the target area of competitive swimming prior to the formation of the AMSC in 1869. Again, this process necessitated a combination of trial-and-error as well as engagement with hard-copy material in order to determine the type of searches that would be utilized. Quotation marks were utilized, where possible, in order to search for precise terms. Nevertheless, there were instances in which the wildcard technique was occasionally utilized in order to facilitate larger numbers of search results within some target areas. The decision to restrict the publication date to the period prior to 7 January 1869 within these searches was based on the need to target information relating to early forms of competitive swimming from across the periods prior to the emergence of the AMSC. In each instance, the designated search terms were sought within the full-text of every documentary source rather than through the use of keywords that might have been attached to particular articles. In this manner, various searches were conducted to gather information relating to early swimming clubs, societies and associations (see table 4.3). Given that some contemporary authors had referred to notions of amateurism and professionalism within hard-copy documentary sources during the mid-nineteenth century, additional searches were conducted in an attempt to uncover a wider range of information relating to such concepts. Searches were also conducted in an attempt to uncover further information relating to early forms of swimming races. The phrase 'or' was utilized in these latter searches in order to link several terms and thereby conduct one simultaneous search for related material. For example, it is possible to enter up to 10 different search terms in the advanced search engine on *Gale Newsvault*. This technique was used in order to return one long list of results relating to early swimming races. Given that search results are returned in chronological order, this type of approach was useful for comparing

different articles that refer to the same events. Such items might have been replicated in separate lists if individual searches had instead been conducted.

Table 4.3: Advanced Searches in *Gale Newsvault* for Competitive Swimming Prior to 1869 (Conducted January 2011)

Search Term(s)	Search In	Restrictions	Results
“swimming association”	Entire Document	Publication Date: Before 7 January 1869	95
“swimming club”	Entire Document	Publication Date: Before 7 January 1869	1,284
“swimming society”	Entire Document	Publication Date: Before 7 January 1869	133
professional swim*	Entire Document	Publication Date: Before 7 January 1869	37
amateur swim*	Entire Document	Publication Date: Before 7 January 1869	107
“swimming challenge”	Entire Document	Publication Date: Before 7 January 1869	1,335
<i>OR</i>			
“swimming championship”	Entire Document		
<i>OR</i>			
“swimming competition”	Entire Document		
<i>OR</i>			
“swimming contest”	Entire Document		
<i>OR</i>			
“swimming entertainment”	Entire Document		
<i>OR</i>			
“swimming fete”	Entire Document		
<i>OR</i>			
“swimming gala”	Entire Document		
<i>OR</i>			
“swimming match”	Entire Document		
<i>OR</i>			
“swimming race”	Entire Document		
<i>OR</i>			
“swimming regatta”	Entire Document		
“swim* for a wager”	Entire Document	Publication Date: Before 7 January 1869	24
<i>OR</i>			
“swim* for money”	Entire Document		

There were several other target areas from the mid-to-late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries for which it was necessary to search for additional information. For example, it had been discovered within hard-copy data sources that the AMSC had been founded on the 7 January 1869. However, there was no information relating to the type of processes that contributed to the decision to hold a swimming congress for that purpose. Several searches were conducted in an attempt to uncover what discussions or negotiations might have taken place prior to this congress of various London swimming clubs (see table 4.4). In these instances, the word ‘and’ was used in order to link different words that all had to appear within an article in order for that item to be returned in the subsequent list of results. This meant that the search terms did not necessarily have to appear as a set phrase within a particular article.

Table 4.4: Advanced Searches in *Gale Newsvault* for the Emergence of a Swimming Congress, c.1868-1869 (Conducted January 2011)

Search Term(s)	Search In	Restrictions	Results
“swimming” <i>AND</i> “congress”	Entire Document	Publication Date: Between 1 January 1868 and 7 January 1869	62
“swimming” <i>AND</i> “conference”	Entire Document	Publication Date: Between 1 October 1868 and 7 January 1869	19

Another target area was to supplement available hard-copy data in relation to several different swimming organizations that had been formed during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. For example, it was noted above that the original minute book of the ASA for the period between 8 June 1886 and 13 April 1894 was unavailable during the course of this research. Consequently, it was important to provide an alternative basis to examine the activities of the ASA between 1886 and 1894 (see table 4.5). In addition, a limited amount of information had been uncovered within hard-copy data regarding the activities of the Professional Swimming Association (PSA) and the ASU. Given the lack of information regarding the PSA at the point when these search terms were devised, the date restriction was set in order to facilitate a search across the entire period of investigation. In contrast, it was known from hard-copy data that the ASU had ceased

to exist in 1886. On this basis, it was possible to set a date restriction to encompass all periods prior to 1887 for this particular organization.

Table 4.5: Advanced Searches in *Gale Newsvault* for the ASA, PSA and ASU (Conducted January 2011)

Search Term(s)	Search In	Restrictions	Results
“Amateur Swimming Association”	Entire Document	Publication Date: Between 8 June 1886 and 13 April 1894	281
“Professional Swimming Association”	Entire Document	Publication Date: Before 1 January 1909	65
“swimming union”	Entire Document	Publication Date: Before 1 January 1887	46

The final target area for electronic data collection was the emergence of standardized competition laws under the jurisdiction of the ASA and its predecessor bodies. Full versions of the Laws of Amateur Swimming were identified within hard-copy data from 1873, 1878 and then on an annual basis throughout the period 1902-1909. The following electronic searches were conducted in an attempt to uncover any additional copies of the Laws of Amateur Swimming that might have been published in contemporary newspapers or periodicals since the inception of the AMSC in January 1869 (see table 4.6).

Table 4.6: Advanced Searches in *Gale Newsvault* for the Laws of Amateur Swimming (Conducted December 2010)

Search Term(s)	Search In	Restrictions	Results
“Laws of Amateur Swimming”	Entire Document	Publication Date: Before 1 January 1909	56
“swimming”	Entire Document	Publication Date: Between 1 January 1869 and 31 January 1869	18
AND “laws”	Entire Document		

The searches that were conducted within these two electronic databases resulted in a total of 360 items being examined from *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* and 3,562 articles from *Gale Newsvault* in order to supplement the range of hard-copy documentary sources that had been examined at the British Library and the archives of the ASA. This combined approach between electronic and hard-copy sources was important in providing an appropriate basis to examine empirical data between the sixteenth and early twentieth centuries.

4.4 Data Analysis

There were two interrelated processes for analyzing the hard-copy and electronic data that had been accessed during the course of this research. Firstly, data were analyzed through a process of thematic analysis and, secondly, this process was conducted in relation to the 'quality control criteria of authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning' (Scott, 1990, p.19).

4.4.1 Thematic Analysis

Given that the aim of this thesis was to utilize a broadly qualitative approach in order to analyze the empirical data that were generated, it is important to outline the type of analytical process utilized. There is no general consensus on a set of formal procedures for conducting qualitative analyses (Bryman, 2008; Gratton and Jones, 2004; Patton, 2002; Yates, 2004). However, Bryman (2008, p.554) has argued that 'one of the most common approaches... entails what is often referred to as thematic analysis'. To this end, Ritchie and Spencer (1994, p.178) have outlined a five-stage 'Framework' model for qualitative analysis, which incorporates the guiding principles of 'familiarization, identifying a thematic framework, indexing, charting, [and] mapping and interpretation'. This model was used in order to describe the underpinning analytical process within this thesis.

The first stage of familiarization is based primarily upon the processes that were utilized in order to determine what types of information were needed to help answer the research question of this thesis. For example, Patton (2002) has referred to the importance of sensitizing concepts in the collection of empirical data. In this respect, it is important to appreciate that an awareness of existing theoretical explanations for the emergence and development of modern sports, as well as existing research on the history of swimming, informed the types of details that were considered to be relevant within the sources that were examined. Seven initial themes were devised on the basis of existing research in order to provide a broad framework to facilitate the collection of empirical data: (1) swimming prior to 1869; (2) the emergence of organizations within competitive swimming; (3) the long-term development of swimming strokes; (4) the amateur/professional debate; (5) information relating to the types of swimming competitions that people engaged in; (6) gradual trends towards greater standardization within competitive events; and (7) information relating to women's swimming. These themes provided an initial basis to sensitize the researcher to the type of information

that might prove to be relevant to understanding the development of competitive swimming. However, it is important to understand that the data collection process was not simply dictated by these initial sensitizing themes. Indeed, the aim, from a figurational perspective, was not merely to test and replicate existing explanations, but to examine the relative adequacy of such explanations through empirical investigation. Consequently, it was important to remain aware that other themes, issues and processes might also prove to be relevant in the development of swimming as a modern competitive sport. In other words, the process of data collection and analysis was indicative of the type of two-way process between theory and empirical data that is advocated by figurational sociologists. This type of approach provided a basis to identify an eighth theme whilst analyzing documentary sources. The formation of district associations, local centres and county associations under the jurisdiction of the ASA was a topic that had received minimal attention within existing research on the history of swimming. However, regional disputes over the level of representation that was enjoyed by different groups in the activities of the ASA were prominent, recurring themes within many contemporary sources during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. On this basis, the creation of ASA districts emerged as an eighth sensitizing theme for the collection and analysis of documentary evidence.

Ritchie and Spencer (1994) have argued that a general appreciation of the overall content of empirical data is often attained whilst engaged in the process of data collection. In other words, the process of collecting data can enable a researcher to develop an initial appreciation of some of the recurring themes within the topic of investigation. This was evident above in relation to the creation of an eighth sensitizing theme. In addition, numerous sub-themes also became apparent within the eight areas of investigation that were outlined. For example, in relation to the swimming competitions in which people participated during the mid-to-late nineteenth century, it gradually became apparent that many contests could be classified as handicap events in which slower competitors were permitted a head-start or scratch events in which all competitors started at the same time. Similarly, there were emerging sub-themes to the effect that some events had been restricted only to amateurs and others to professionals and that some races could be classified in relation to local, regional or national status. When such themes became apparent during the data collection process, these initial thoughts were recorded for future use. In this manner, it can be argued that the processes of 'recording and tracking [the] analytical insights that occur during data

collection are part of fieldwork *and* the beginning of qualitative analysis' (Patton, 2002, p.436; original emphasis). Following completion of the data collection process, it was possible to refine and expand these initial notes in order to develop a more detailed appreciation of some of the recurring issues and themes within the range of empirical data that had been analyzed.

The second stage of this analytical process was to turn the initial set of theme-based notes from the process of familiarization into a more formal and structured framework of themes and sub-themes (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). Again, the creation of a thematic framework is based upon a two-way process between theory and empirical data. This point has already been demonstrated in relation to the eight initial themes that were utilized within this research. However, a two-way process also occurred in the creation of additional sub-themes. For example, it is likely that researchers will be aware of certain topics, theories and concepts that have previously been utilized within existing literature (Bryman, 2008). Similarly, the researcher will develop a thematic framework with the aims and objectives of the research process in mind (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). Such issues can serve to sensitize the researcher in the creation of additional sub-themes. However, the sub-themes that are utilized must also emerge on the basis of empirical evidence (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). For example, a total of six sub-themes were identified in relation to swimming before 1869. These sub-themes of competition, enjoyment, cleanliness, travel, military applications and self-preservation were based upon issues that had been evident within contemporary source material. In other words, each of these sub-themes emerged from engagement with empirical data. It is through this type of two-way process between theory and empirical data that a framework of additional sub-themes was outlined in relation to all eight thematic areas (see table 4.7).

Table 4.7: Thematic Framework for Analyzing the Sportization of Swimming

<i>Theme 1: Swimming Prior to 1869</i>	<i>Theme 5: Type of Swimming Competitions</i>
1.1 Early Forms of Competition 1.2 As a Form of Enjoyment 1.3 For Reasons of Cleanliness 1.4 Relating to Travel 1.5 Military Applications 1.6 Self-Preservation i.e. Potential Life-Saving Skill	5.1 Handicap Events 5.2 Scratch Events 5.3 Amateur Competitions 5.4 Professional Competitions 5.5 Local Events 5.6 Regional Events 5.7 National Events 5.8 International Events 5.9 Olympic Events
<i>Theme 2: Towards the Organization of Competitive Swimming</i>	<i>Theme 6: Towards Greater Standardization</i>
2.1 Swimming Clubs 2.1.1 Metropolitan Clubs 2.1.2 Provincial Clubs 2.2 Swimming Societies 2.2.1 Local Societies 2.2.2 National Swimming Society 2.3 Swimming Associations/Unions 2.3.1 Local Associations 2.3.2 Associated Metropolitan Swimming Clubs 2.3.3 London Swimming Association 2.3.4 Metropolitan Swimming Association 2.3.5 Swimming Association of Great Britain 2.3.6 Amateur Swimming Union 2.3.7 Amateur Swimming Association 2.3.8 Professional Swimming Association 2.3.9 National Governing Bodies in Countries Other than England 2.3.10 Towards Organization at an International Level	6.1 Regulations Governing Events 6.1.1 Negotiations Between Individual Competitors 6.1.2 Laws of Amateur Swimming 6.1.3 As Defined By Race Organizer 6.2 The Course to be Swum 6.2.1 Outdoor Course 6.2.2 Pool-Based Course 6.2.3 Designated Between two Points 6.2.4 Designated Length in Yards 6.2.5 Designated Length in Metres 6.3 The Measurement of Competitor Performance 6.4 The Relative Sizes of Swimming Baths 6.5 Comments on the Process of Handicapping 6.6 Comments on Scratch Events 6.7 Styles of Swimming within Races 6.7.1 No Restrictions on the Style of Swimming 6.7.2 Designated 'Breaststroke' Events 6.7.3 Designated 'Backstroke' Events 6.7.4 'Medley-Style' Events
<i>Theme 3: The Development of Swimming Strokes</i>	<i>Theme 7: Women's Swimming</i>
3.1 Breaststroke 3.2 Swimming on the Back 3.3 Sidestroke 3.4 Single-Arm-Over Sidestroke 3.5 Trudgeon stroke 3.6 Double-Arm-Over Sidestroke 3.7 Crawl	7.1 Women's Races 7.2 Women's Exhibitions 7.3 Comments on Female Swimmers 7.4 Comments Regarding the Suitability of Swimming for Women
<i>Theme 4: Professional/Amateur Debate</i>	<i>Theme 8: The Creation of ASA Districts</i>
4.1 Amateur Groups 4.2 Professional Groups 4.3 The Amateur/Professional Definition 4.4 Perceptions of Amateurism 4.5 Perceptions of Professionalism 4.6 Disagreements between Amateur Groups 4.7 Links between the ASA, AAA & NCU	8.1 Issues of Inclusion and Representation 8.2 Local Centres 8.3 County Associations 8.4 Southern Counties 8.5 Midland Counties 8.6 Northern Counties 8.7 North-Eastern Counties 8.8 Western Counties

The third stage in this analytical process was indexing or coding empirical data in accordance with the thematic framework that had been outlined (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). This process required each item of documentary evidence to be analyzed in order to mark relevant ideas, topics or themes within these sources with a corresponding code from this framework. This provided a basis to undertake the fourth stage of charting the data. The concept of charting refers to the processes through which related items of data can be examined and compared (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). For example, when attempting to examine the long-term development of different styles of swimming such as the breaststroke, it was important to be able to find and compare different references to breaststroke techniques from across all of the documentary sources that had been examined. The development of theme-based charts, tables or lists was important in order to maintain accurate records of the evidence that was available in relation to different thematic areas (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). By charting different thematic issues such as contemporary references to the breaststroke, it was possible to compare related items of empirical data from different documents in which a particular theme had been discussed.

The final stage in this analytical process is mapping and interpretation. The aim of this stage was to utilize the preceding thematic framework, coded data and charted records in order to develop a response to the research problem. This is not a process that can be described in a formulaic manner due to the fact that:

the analyst reviews the charts and research notes; compares and contrasts the perceptions, accounts, or experiences; searches for patterns and connections and seeks explanations for these internally within the data. Piecing together the overall picture is not simply a question of aggregating patterns, but of weighing up the salience and dynamics of issues, and searching for a structure rather than a multiplicity of evidence. This part of the analytical process is the most difficult to describe. Any representation appears to suggest that the analyst works in a mechanical way, making obvious conceptualisations and connections, whereas in reality each step requires leaps of intuition and imagination. The whole process of immersion in the data triggers associations, the origins of which the analyst can scarcely recognize (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994, p.186).

Within this process, the researcher is required to formulate their interpretation of data. This type of process was based upon the researcher making decisions about the ‘substantive significance’ of different research findings (Patton, 2002, p.467). In particular, this requires judgements to be made in relation to the range of events, issues, themes, patterns or trends that might need to be reported, the manner in which they should be reported and the emphasis that should be placed upon different findings. For example, the researcher might have to consider the extent to which it is important to discuss swimming before 1869. Should attention be focussed predominantly upon early forms of competitive swimming during such periods? Are there reasons to consider the practice of swimming in more general terms for health, cleanliness or enjoyment? To what extent should such issues be discussed alongside early competition-based forms of swimming? In what order should such issues be discussed? Is it necessary to tabulate certain data in order to facilitate the discussion? Can any developments during these periods be explained in relation to existing theoretical knowledge? In other words, the final written thesis is based upon the interpretation of empirical data that is provided by the researcher. It is for such reasons that figurational sociologists have argued that it is only possible for researchers to develop explanations with greater or lesser degrees of reality-congruence. Throughout the analytical process it is important for the researcher to engage in a detour-via-detachment in order to generate a more adequate understanding of the processes that are being examined.

4.4.2 Quality Control Criteria

The use of themes and sub-themes in order to sensitize the researcher to the types of information that might prove to be relevant for the purpose of conducting research is an important aspect within the analytical process. However, the analysis of documentary source material is also based upon an interrelated process that can be described in relation to the four criteria of authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning (Scott, 1990). The use of these four criteria has come to be regarded as the classic approach to conducting documentary analysis. The guiding principle is to engage in ‘the study of documents in their social setting – more specifically on how documents are manufactured and how they function rather than simply on what they contain’ (Prior, 2003, p.4). In other words, these four criteria are sensitizing concepts to encourage researchers to consider the relative adequacy of each item of documentary evidence that is being examined. The use of these four criteria was integral to and inseparable from each stage in the process of thematic analysis outlined above. By analyzing each item of

documentary evidence in relation to these four sensitizing concepts, the aim was to provide a more adequate basis to identify any limitations with the source material that was being examined. For example, there are instances in which it is still possible, and perhaps even important, to utilize certain forms of documentary evidence when questions surround the authenticity, credibility, representativeness or meaning of such items (Platt, 1981; Scott, 1990). Yet it is only possible to develop a more reality-congruent interpretation of these data if the researcher is aware that there are potential limitations with the material that is being examined (Platt, 1981; Scott, 1990).

The first key issue to consider when analyzing documentary sources is the authenticity of that evidence. Scott (1990, p.19) has argued that 'the authenticity of a document concerns its genuineness: whether it is actually what it purports to be'. Of vital importance is whether the attributed author is the originator of that work. Scott (1990) has provided examples of instances in which it has been proven that certain documents were not created by the credited authors. Such errors could be due to simple clerical mistakes or perhaps due to the implementation of day-to-day procedures in which a document might be required to include the name of more senior officials than those who were involved in its creation (Scott, 1990). Alternatively, there have been instances in which deliberate efforts have been made to hide and even mislead and falsify the true identities of certain authors (Scott, 1990). In other words, the stated authorship of any form of documentary evidence cannot simply be taken-for-granted. It is also important to consider the distinction between an original version and a later copy when assessing the authenticity of a document:

Even an original must be assessed for unnoticed but possibly significant errors of spelling and grammar; and copies involve the further problem that a human copyist may have introduced additional errors in the process of copying so that the copy is not an authentic version of the original. Such errors can arise in manuscript, typed or printed copies, and even a purely mechanical process such as photocopying or microfilming may create problems of authenticity if the quality of reproduction is low. Minor smudges and blurs are especially common, as are such problems as missing pages (Scott, 1990, p.19-20).

During the course of this research it has been possible to access original copies of many of the documents examined. For example, the sources accessed at the archives of the

ASA were the original minute books of the Association and original versions of ASA handbooks. Similarly, many of the books, texts and periodicals that were accessed at the British Library and Colindale Newspaper Library were also original versions. Nevertheless, there were some sources of documentary evidence that were only available on microfilm. In addition, it was important to appreciate that there might be potential problems with the electronic books, newspapers and periodicals that had been accessed via *Gale Newsvault* and *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Such items had been created through a process of electronic scanning. It was important in researching for this thesis that microfilm and electronic documents were examined for potential flaws or errors as a consequence of the reproduction process to ensure the authenticity of such items to the extent that it was possible to do so.

The second issue to consider when analyzing documentary evidence is the credibility of data. Scott (1990, p.22) has argued that ‘assessing the credibility of a document involves an appraisal of how distorted its contents are likely to be... there is always an element of selective accentuation in the attempt to describe social reality’. This point can be related to the figurational argument that all people are necessarily involved in interdependent relationships with others. The potential for people to enable or constrain the actions of others within and across figurational networks of interdependencies was examined in the previous chapter. In this manner, it is important to appreciate that all documentary sources are produced within the context of wider social processes. Complete detachment from their everyday social situation is unattainable for any individual. In other words, there are no ‘neutral’ documents (May, 2001, p.83). The concept of credibility is utilized in order to encourage researchers to consider the wider social context within which documentary evidence is produced and to consider the influence of other people or groups upon the interpretation of events that is provided by an author. For example, a group of swimming clubs seceded from the SAGB in the mid-1880s in order to establish a rival ASU following ongoing disputes over the amateur and professional status of competitors. The SAGB was one of the predecessor bodies of the ASA. Whilst examining the minute books of this Association, it was important to consider that members of the SAGB might have sought to portray the newly formed ASU from their own particular viewpoint.

The second issue of document credibility can also be related to ‘the spatial and temporal proximity of the author to the events’ that are being examined (Scott, 1990, p.23). In

basic terms, this concept can be related to whether an author directly witnessed the events in question. For example, Scott (1990) has argued that there is a general perception amongst researchers that there is a greater risk of inaccuracies within a documentary account when there is greater distance between an author and the events that are being reported. The notion of distance can be measured in physical terms – whether the author was a direct witness to the events in question – and in relation to the length of time that elapsed before a particular document was produced (Scott, 1990). Even if the author of a document was a first-hand witness, it is still important to consider the wider social context within which their subsequent account was created (Scott, 1990). Yet it is also important to consider issues of spatial and temporal proximity when analyzing the relative credibility of the documentary evidence that has been collected.

The third criterion to consider when analyzing documentary evidence is the representativeness of those data that have been examined. Scott (1990, p.25) has argued that ‘the question of representativeness involves the two aspects of “survival” and “availability”’. The issue of document availability is related to the process of gaining access to a particular item. In those instances where a document has been identified as relevant for examination, there can be no guarantee that the researcher will be permitted access to that material, particularly if that item is held within private archives or might contain sensitive information (Scott, 1990). This was one of the underpinning reasons that it was important to negotiate access to the private archives of the ASA. The original minute books of the Association were already known to be in existence from research that had been conducted by other authors (see Keil and Wix, 1996; Love, 2003; Parker, 2003). If access to the private archives of the ASA had not been granted, this would have impacted upon the representativeness of the primary source material that had been available during the course of the research process (Scott, 1990). The related issue of document survival can also be illustrated with a brief example from the archives of the ASA. For example, it was stated within one of the minutes of the 29th AGM of the ASA that ‘the Hon. Sec. was empowered to destroy any unimportant correspondence, etc., more than five years old’ (*ASA Minutes: 1893-1902*, 13 March 1897). It is impossible to know what items, if any, were subsequently destroyed or to know whether items that have survived are representative of the type of correspondence that had, at one time, been in the possession of the ASA. Similarly, it is impossible to know whether the honorary secretary might have sought to destroy more controversial documents. The

key point in relation to the issue of survival is that there can be many reasons that documents do not survive as certain items are discarded, destroyed, lost or misplaced over time or simply become too fragile to use (Scott, 1990). It is important, therefore, to appreciate that those documents that have survived over time and that are available to the researcher cannot simply be assumed to be representative of the entire range of documents that might, at one time, have been in existence.

The fourth issue to consider when analyzing documentary evidence is the meaning of the evidence that is contained within a particular document. Scott (1990, p.28) has argued that the 'problem of meaning arises at two levels, the literal and the interpretative'. The first of these points can be related to the potential difficulties that might arise in understanding the literal meaning of the words that are written. For example, the meanings of certain words can change over time, fall out of common use or be difficult to decipher if they are specialist terms (Scott, 1990). The characteristics of a particular document – such as the language in which it was written or difficulties resulting from the method in which it was produced – might also impact upon the ability of a researcher to develop a literal understanding of the available evidence (Scott, 1990). For example, the earliest ASA minute books were handwritten. Some were easier to decipher than others. The initial aim, therefore, should be to understand the literal meaning of the documentary evidence that is being examined. The subsequent task is to consider the interpretative meaning that could potentially be attached to such material. May (2001, p.184; original emphases) has argued that each document can be examined 'in terms of three levels of... interpretation. First, the meanings that the author *intended* to produce, second, the *received* meanings as constructed by the audience in differing social situations, and third, the *internal* meanings that semioticians exclusively concentrate upon'. The importance of interpretation within the research process has already been discussed in relation to the final stage of thematic analysis. It is important for researchers to appreciate that different people can interpret the same document in different ways. Again, this point can be related to the figurational contention that it is only possible for researchers to develop explanations with greater or lesser degrees of reality-congruence. There is no 'true' or 'objective' interpretation of documentary evidence. Instead, the aim should be to examine each document through the process of a detour-via-detachment in an attempt to develop a more adequate understanding of the meanings that could potentially be attached to available evidence. In this manner,

researchers can strive to develop a more reality-congruent interpretation of the documentary sources that are examined.

The methods that have been outlined within this chapter constitute an appropriate framework to conduct this research from a figurational perspective. A range of hard-copy and electronic data have been examined from documentary sources and the subsequent research findings encompass the period from the sixteenth to the early twentieth centuries. The parameters of these data provide an appropriate basis to investigate the long-term blind social processes that contributed to the emergence and development of swimming as a competitive sport during this period. In this manner, the method of documentary analysis that has been utilized within this thesis stemmed from the problem under investigation. The methods that have been utilized within this thesis provide an important basis to: (a) adopt a long-term developmental perspective; (b) test the concept of sportization and contribute to existing theoretical knowledge through an interrelated process between theory and empirical data; and (c) relate empirical research findings to existing literature on the development of modern sports in subsequent chapters. Figurational sociologists argue that this type of approach is important in order to provide a more adequate basis to strive towards greater detachment within the research process. A broadly qualitative approach was subsequently utilized in order to analyze empirical data and all documentary source material was subject to the sensitizing concepts of authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning. Again, these analytical processes were facilitated through a detour-via-detachment. The task within following chapters is to utilize these data in order to strive towards a more reality-congruent examination of the long-term emergence and development of swimming as a modern competitive sport. The objective of the next chapter is to examine the gradual emergence of earlier forms of swimming-based competition in the period between the sixteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 5: The Emergence of Swimming-Based Wagers, c.1595-1830s

5.1 Introduction

Modern forms of competitive swimming gradually emerged, over time, in accordance with a range of interweaving processes that took place in England throughout the period between the Middle-Ages and the early twentieth century. The aim of this chapter is to examine the first broad stage in this long-term process. It is possible to demonstrate that some people engaged in swimming-based wagers in England during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Such events can be described as the antecedent forms of modern competitive swimming. It is important to examine these earlier events in order to provide a more adequate basis to understand the long-term development of swimming as a modern competitive sport. This is a task that has been largely ignored or overlooked by other authors to date. A brief overview of swimming in the period between the late sixteenth century and the seventeenth century will first be outlined within this chapter in order to provide a basis to examine the emergence of early swimming-based wagers from a long-term developmental perspective. Consideration will then turn to swimming in the eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth century. This will include an examination of the type of swimming-based wagers that can be shown to have taken place during these periods. The different styles and strokes that were practiced by some contemporary swimmers will also be examined. These points will then be drawn together in order to summarize the main characteristics of the types of swimming-based wagers that took place during these periods.

5.2 Swimming During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Detailed treatises on the topic of swimming were produced in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (see Middleton, 1595; Percey, 1658; Thevenot, 1699). These authors sought to promote the potential benefits of swimming as an important and practical skill. For example, all three advocated the ability to swim as a pragmatic skill in order to reduce the risk of drowning. Furthermore, it was argued that swimming could be beneficial for reasons relating to personal health and cleanliness (Middleton, 1595; Percey, 1658). Swimming was also considered to be an important skill for use in times of war in order to facilitate military activities such as evading or moving to attack an enemy, surveying the surrounding area or facilitating the use of a weapon whilst immersed in water (Percey, 1658; Thevenot, 1699). In addition,

swimming was described as a skill that could be practiced for personal enjoyment or that could be used in order to come to the assistance of another person who was in danger of drowning (Percey, 1658; Thevenot, 1699). Thevenot (1699) also argued that swimming should be viewed as an important skill for those who worked on or around open water in order to lessen the risk of drowning.

The above data are consistent with arguments that have previously been outlined within existing research (see Orme, 1983). But such developments have not previously been examined within a wider theoretical context. It is important to undertake this task within this thesis in order to provide a basis to explain such developments, but also to develop a more adequate long-term developmental context to underpin the following sections of this investigation. Elias (2000) argued that the threshold of repugnance was relatively high during these periods and that forms of violence and conflict were more prevalent within everyday life. Within this social context, some contemporary authors viewed swimming as a skill that might prove to be useful for military conflict or in the event that an individual became involved in some form of violent confrontation. However, this was also a period in which people were enmeshed in the relatively early stages of a long-term civilizing spurt that took place in England in the period between the Middle-Ages and the early twentieth century (Elias, 2000). The fact that some authors also advocated swimming for reasons relating to enjoyment, self-preservation, health and cleanliness, employment and for coming to the aid of other people who were in danger of drowning appears to be indicative of an increasing concern amongst some people for the health, hygiene, safety and welfare of others. This concern was also evident in the invention of safety devices during these periods that could be used or worn in order to keep a person afloat and prevent them from drowning (see Cruys, 1698). Such developments occurred in the relatively early stages of a longer-term civilizing process. Nevertheless, the decision amongst some authors to advocate swimming for reasons relating to the health, hygiene, safety and welfare of others is indicative of a civilizing trend. These increasing concerns can be explained in relation to lengthening chains of interdependence and a gradual lowering in the threshold of repugnance (Elias, 2000).

Whilst some authors were beginning to advocate swimming during these periods, it is difficult to determine to what extent swimming was known and utilized in practice. Sixteenth and seventeenth century treatises were written with the intention to encourage larger numbers of people to learn how to swim. To this end, all three of these authors

provided instructions in contemporary swimming techniques for the reader (Middleton, 1595; Percey, 1658; Thevenot, 1699). In addition, Percey (1658) and Thevenot (1699) expressed their belief that larger numbers of people should learn how to swim. This might indicate that such authors considered swimming to be a relatively minor activity during these periods. For present purposes, the key point is that none of these authors referred to the occurrence of any forms of competitive swimming within their treatises (see Middleton, 1595; Percey, 1658; Thevenot, 1699). These authors examined the general topic of swimming in relative detail. The fact that these authors did not refer to any forms of competition might reflect that swimming contests did not take place during these periods or that such activities, if they did occur, were not considered to be sufficiently widespread or important to warrant discussion within a swimming treatise. There is no available evidence within these treatises or any other contemporary source material to indicate that swimming contests might have taken place. The lack of evidence regarding any forms of swimming-based competition during these periods is again consistent with existing research (see Orme, 1983).

5.3 Swimming During the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

It was noted in Chapter 1 that the practice of swimming during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has received limited attention and has largely been overlooked within much existing research. On the basis of empirical evidence, it is possible to indicate that swimming continued to be advocated in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries for many of the reasons that had been proposed in previous eras. For example, swimming was still advocated as an activity that could prove to be beneficial for members of the army or navy (Fothergill 1799; Clias, 1825). Some authors also referred to the potential benefits of swimming as a means of escaping from an enemy or any other dangerous situation (Frost, 1816; Hughes, 1820). In accordance with ongoing civilizing processes, swimming was also advocated by some authors: (a) on the grounds of self-preservation (Fenning and Malham, 1788; Fothergill, 1799; Salzmänn, 1800; Frost, 1816; Hughes, 1820); (b) for helping others who were in danger of drowning (Fenning and Malham, 1788; Fothergill, 1799; Salzmänn, 1800; Frost, 1816; Hughes, 1820); (c) for reasons relating to health and cleanliness (Fothergill, 1799; Salzmänn, 1800; Frost, 1816; Clias, 1825); (d) for those whose lived and worked around water (Hanway, 1788; Trusler, 1791; Fothergill, 1799); and (e) for pleasure, enjoyment or play (Anonymous, 1760; Frost, 1816). Yet by the early nineteenth century Strutt (1801, p.67) argued that ‘swimming is by no means so generally practised with us in the

present day as it used to be in former times'. Various authors have argued that Strutt was at times prone to supposition and exaggeration within his work and so it is important to remain cautious regarding his claims (see Collins and Vamplew, 2002; Dunning and Sheard, 2005; Love, 2003). Whether there had been a relative decline in the use of swimming in comparison to previous eras is unclear. However, it would seem that Strutt might at least have been accurate in portraying swimming as a relatively minor activity in the early nineteenth century. For example, Fothergill (1799) argued that the ability to swim was limited amongst sailors in both the merchant fleet and the navy. Kenworthy (1846) still argued this point in the mid-nineteenth century. Similarly, various authors argued that swimming was a limited skill amongst the general populace long into the mid-nineteenth century (see Anonymous, 1833; Stevens, 1845; Kenworthy, 1846; Richardson, 1857). In other words, swimming does not appear to have been a widespread activity in the eighteenth and early-to-mid nineteenth centuries. However, there is evidence that some people gradually started to engage in swimming-based wagers during these periods.

5.3.1 The Emergence of Swimming-Based Wagers, c.1760s-1830s

The emergence of competition-based forms of swimming in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is a topic that has largely been overlooked or ignored by many authors to date (see Colwin, 1992, 2002; Fox, 2003; Keil and Wix, 1996; Love, 2003; Oppenheim, 1970; Parker, 2003; Wilkie and Juba, 1996). Consequently, there remains necessity and scope to examine the type of competitive events that took place during these periods. Eleven reports relating to such events have been uncovered from the period between 1766 and 1834 (see table 5.1). Most of these reports are 'new' and previously unknown sources of data.¹ In other words, these data provide an important basis to contribute to existing knowledge relating to the occurrence of early swimming contests. Indeed, it is possible, on the basis of these data, to undertake the first detailed examination of the type of swimming-based wagers that occurred during these periods. This is important in order to provide a more adequate empirical and theoretical basis to understand the long-term development of swimming as a modern competitive sport from these earlier antecedent events.

¹ Love (2003) was aware of the existence of three of these reports from 1791, 1805 and 1810. He used these sources in order to indicate that gambling was known to be a feature of some early swimming races, but did not comment upon any of the other characteristics of these events.

Table 5.1: Reports of Swimming-Based Wagers, c.1766-1834

	Description
July 1766	Dobson, a lighterman, undertook, for a wager of five guineas, to swim on his back from Westminster bridge to Putney bridge in an hour and three quarters, without turning himself in the water; which he performed 19 minutes within the time.
May 1791	Tuesday afternoon three men, for a wager of eight guineas, swam from Westminster to London Bridge. The victor was carried on the shoulders of porters to a public house in the Borough, where he drank such a quantity of gin, that he expired in about half an hour after his victory.
September 1805	On Thursday last, a soldier in the Guards, stationed at Deal, undertook, for a trifling wager, to swim from opposite the Barracks, at Deal, to Ramsgate, a distance of nearly eight miles, the sea at that time being very much agitated by the weather. To the astonishment of a numerous assemblage of spectators, he performed it with apparent ease to himself, though every wave seemed to bury him from the sight of the shore.
September 1810	Last week, for a wager of ten guineas, EDMUND AUSTICE, Esq... undertook to swim from Plymouth Sound to the Victualling Office Point, which he performed in twenty minutes, to the great astonishment of all the spectators assembled on the occasion.
May 1811	Two young men, of the names of Gregory and Waller, undertook on Monday evening to swim for a wager of ten guineas, from Brentford towards London with the tide, who should go farthest in three hours. Gregory got away from his adversary in a short time, and continued to swim six miles down the river, when he was taken up in a boat, but Waller suddenly disappeared, after having gone three miles, and the body has not yet been found.
October 1821	A great bustle was excited at the west end of the town yesterday in consequence of its having been understood that a swimming match was to take place on the Serpentine River, between Mr. F.O. MARTIN, the celebrated Nottingham swimmer; and Mr. T.P. RAMSDEN, of high swimming repute at Rochford. The match was for 50 guineas, to swim four times up and down the River. It was well contested for some time, Mr. R. keeping the lead, but on turning round for the last time he grew tired, and was passed in grand style by his antagonist, who won the match among the shouts of thousands. Mr. R. sunk when within five yards of the winning post, but was immediately rescued by a waterman; he, however, soon recovered, and was able to walk away.
July 1824	At eight o'clock on Sunday evening, two men undertook to swim across the Serpentine and back for a wager of four sovereigns. One of them accomplished his task, but the other on returning was seized with the cramp, and was unfortunately drowned. Every assistance was given from the shore, but it proved ineffectual; and although the drags of the Humane Society were in active operation, the body was not discovered at a late hour.
July 1826	A sweepstakes swimming match, ten sov. [sovereigns] each, took place on Saturday, between Mr. R. Owenson, of Chiswick, and two Gentlemen, of the names of Merchant and Billingham. – The start took place from Battersea Bridge, and the match was who should swim the greatest distance. The swimmers passed the Red House nearly abreast of each other, when Mr. Merchant seemed to tire, but kept on to Millbank, where he resigned. Mr. Owenson was about 20 yards a-head in going through Westminster Bridge, who rested himself until his adversary reached him, Mr. O. being confident of winning. Mr. O. then swam swiftly away until he reached Blackfriars Bridge, his opponent having given in at Arundel-street stairs.
August 1826	A match for five sov. [sovereigns] and a rump and dozen took place yesterday, from a boat moored off Wandsworth through Westminster Bridge. The candidates were, Mr. Cranstone, of Bath-terrace, Millbank; and Mr. B. Stapleton, of Wimbledon. At starting, Mr. Cranstone took the lead, and kept it at considerable speed, when Mr. Stapleton passed and won the match, leaving his contemporary at opposite Arundel-stairs. The distance is computed at more than four miles, and it was performed within two hours.
August 1832	An Inquest was held at the Marquis of Granby, Knightsbridge, on the body of Mr. E. McEndie, bookseller, of Taunton, Somersetshire. The deceased and his friend were swimming across the Serpentine River for a wager, when the former became exhausted, and sunk before his friend could give him any assistance. An alarm was given, but, in consequence of two similar accidents in another part of the river, the boats did not arrive immediately, and the body was not found until some hours after the accident.
August 1834	On Monday last, according to announcement, the swimming match between Messrs. Vipond and Broughton took place in our river. Vipond had bet Broughton £20 to £15 that he would either reach Runcorn before him, or proceed furthest in that direction. The parties set off from the Floating Bath about half-past ten, with the tide, and proceeded as far as Eastham, when Broughton, who is said to have been seized with the cramp, was obliged to be taken into the boat; upon which Vipond, who was about fifty yards behind at the time, swam on past the place where his rival had given in, and, of course, won the wager. They were about an hour and a half in the water.

Sources: Anonymous (1773, p.115); *Liverpool Mercury* (29 August 1834); *The Morning Chronicle* (30 May 1811); *The Morning Post* (19 October 1821; 20 July 1824; 3 July 1826; 11 August 1826; 2 August 1832); *The Times* (19 May 1791, p.3; 24 September 1805, p.3; 7 September 1810, p.4).

All of the events that have been uncovered from these periods were based upon a cash wager. There appear to have been two broad formats for arranging such events. The first was to arrange a wager in the form of a challenge for a solitary participant. This type of event was typically swum between a designated starting point and finishing point in order to determine whether this individual was capable of completing the set challenge. The second was to arrange a wager in the form of a contest between two or more competitors. These direct contests sometimes took place over a designated course with the winner being the first competitor to reach the finish point. Alternatively, some contests were occasionally arranged in order to determine which competitor was capable of swimming the farthest from a given starting point. In those instances when the guiding principle was to swim as far as possible, there were, by definition, no limits upon the potential distance that might be swum during the course of the event. Yet even in those instances where the guiding principle was to complete a designated course, the choice of start and finish points was often based upon notable landmarks or locations rather than set and measured distances. The use of landmarks as start and/or finish points might have been based, in part, upon the need to provide appropriate locations for people to gather in order to watch such events. For example, there are references to spectators watching the events that had taken place in September 1805, September 1810 and October 1821. However, the terms for such wagers would have been arranged through a process of negotiation between those individuals who were involved in organizing an event. Whether such terms would have been based upon local customs or even the personal whim of competitors is unclear. Yet it would seem that the two basic approaches of swimming as far as possible or swimming between two designated landmarks were relatively straightforward methods for organizing a wager without the need to measure and mark-out a designated stretch of water within the outdoor locations that were used for such events. Consequently, the distance between the start and finish points within such events does not appear to have been deemed a matter of any particular importance. Indeed, there are only two examples from September 1805 and August 1826 of vague attempts to estimate the distances of ‘nearly eight miles’ and ‘more than four miles’ that might have been covered by the participants within these respective events.

The main rules within these early swimming-based wagers were those relating to the course that was going to be utilized and the manner in which the event would be won or lost by either swimming the farthest or being the first competitor to reach the finish

point. It would seem that any additional rules and regulations were often rather minimal. For example, there is no evidence within any of the reports from these periods to indicate that an independent referee – or any other potential authority figure – had been appointed in order to oversee such events. Presumably there might have been a designated purse-holder for these wagers, but there is no available evidence to indicate whether this was the case. Similarly, there is insufficient evidence to determine whether there were any particular methods or procedures for starting swimmers in a fair and equal manner at the outset of an event. In addition, there do not seem to have been any restrictions, generally speaking, upon the style or styles of swimming that could be used within such events. Indeed, there is only one example of an event in which a restriction to swim only upon the back had been included within the terms of a challenge that had been undertaken by one participant in July 1766. This restriction indicates that different terms were occasionally agreed between those individuals who were involved in negotiating the conditions for these wagers. It would appear that participants would have been permitted to choose their own method of swimming within the other events that had taken place during these periods. In other words, the rules and regulations underpinning these swimming-based wagers were often minimal and determined at a relatively low level of organization through a process of negotiation between those individuals who were involved in arranging the wager.

Another aspect to emphasize in relation to the structure of these early swimming-based wagers is that the performances of competitors were occasionally timed. For example, the participant within the wager that took place in July 1766 had been timed to approximately the nearest minute. In the report for the event from September 1810 it was noted that the participant had completed his task in approximately twenty minutes. In addition, the competitors in the events that took place in August 1826 and August 1834 were recorded as completing their wagers in approximately two hours and one-and-a-half hours respectively. There are no other examples of times being recorded during these periods. In other words, it does not seem to have been a requirement to record the times of competitors on a consistent basis during these periods. In those instances when times were recorded, there appear to have been variations in the level of accuracy to which such times were taken, either to the nearest minute or the nearest segment of the hour. When these points are combined with the relative lack of interest amongst contemporary swimmers for measuring the length of their designated courses,

it would have been more-or-less impossible to compare the performances of different swimmers across different events and between different locations.

The types of swimming-based wagers that took place during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were based upon the negotiation of terms between participants, minimal rules and relative disinterest in measuring the designated course or the performance of competitors. Such characteristics are consistent with an activity in the relatively early and more unstructured stages of a longer-term process of sportization (Dunning and Sheard, 2005). The emergence of such wagers during these periods can be explained in relation to long-term civilizing processes. Elias (1986a) argued that a notable civilizing spurt occurred in England from the mid-to-late seventeenth century and, in particular, during the course of the eighteenth century. In accordance with lengthening chains of interdependence and ongoing processes of parliamentarization, members of the ruling elite were increasingly expected to demonstrate greater self-control over their feelings and emotions within the emerging political arena. These trends towards greater self-control were gradually mirrored, over time, within their daily lives and routines and within their sports and pastimes (Elias, 1986a). As more controlled and refined forms of behaviour gradually came to be expected within many areas of social life, any forms of behaviour that infringed the emerging social standards – such as outbursts of violence, aggression or excitement – were increasingly deemed to be unacceptable. Such developments contributed to an increasing desire, amongst some people, to engage in more controlled and, therefore, more ‘legitimate’ and ‘civilized’ forms of excitement (Elias and Dunning, 1986b). In this manner, sport gradually came to be viewed as an area of social life in which it was acceptable for people to experience heightened levels of tension and excitement, but in more controlled and ‘civilized’ ways (Elias, 1986c). Figural sociologists have often demonstrated such developments in relation to the gradual trend towards the reduction of violence and the emergence of greater self-control within many contemporary sports and pastimes (Maguire, 1991). However, gambling upon the outcome of sporting events was another possible means for people to experience heightened tension and excitement in a more controlled and ‘acceptable’ manner. For example, Sheard (2004, p.20; original emphasis) has argued in relation to early forms of boxing that:

gentlemen and aristocrats could also obtain excitement – in what was becoming an increasingly routinized society – by betting on the results of prize fights. Or

they could obtain this excitement by “running” a fighter themselves, just as they ran stables of horses... These gentry and aristocratic groups increasingly got their excitement and thrills from the less *direct*, more civilized, activities of watching fights, betting on fights and running their own champions and less by direct participation in fighting.

The proposition of a cash wager between two or more individuals was a relatively common method for arranging competitions within numerous emerging sports and pastimes. For example, horse racing and cricket matches had traditionally been arranged in the form of a wager between members of the nobility and aristocracy during the mid-to-late seventeenth and the early decades of the eighteenth century (Holt, 1989). Pedestrianism and rowing are further examples of activities in which competitive events were arranged in the form of a wager during the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Sears, 2001; Wigglesworth, 1992). The use of wagers as a means of organizing early forms of competition within numerous sports and pastimes is indicative that gambling was gradually becoming more widespread during these periods. Indeed, Wigglesworth (1996, p.31) has argued that a ‘mania for gambling extended nationwide across the social divide’.

The growth of gambling within England during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was indicative of a notable civilizing trend towards the generation of more controlled forms of tension-excitement within many contemporary sports and pastimes. Such developments contributed to the emergence of swimming-based wagers during these periods. However, the emergence of such events must also be placed within a wider social context. Gambling was becoming more widespread during these periods, but this does not explain, in itself, the reasons that some people had begun to wager upon their swimming abilities. For example, it has also been argued that some people were demonstrating greater concern for the health and welfare of others during these periods. In accordance with these wider civilizing trends, swimming was advocated as a practical skill against the risk of drowning as well as an activity that could potentially be utilized for reasons such as enjoyment, health and cleanliness. The increasing recognition of the potential benefits of swimming also contributed to the emergence of swimming-based wagers. It was in accordance with these interrelated civilizing trends towards the gradual recognition of swimming as a beneficial activity and the desire to

experience more ‘appropriate’ forms of tension-excitement that some people began to engage in swimming-based wagers during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

5.3.2 The Social Status of Competitors

The number of participants within these early swimming-based wagers was often relatively limited. For example, there are no more than three participants within any of the events from these periods. This trend can partly be explained in relation to the status of swimming as a rather limited skill amongst the general populace, but can also be related to the manner in which these wagers were arranged at a relatively low level of organization. In other words, it was noted that the terms for such events were determined through a process of negotiation between individuals. These events were not ‘open’ for anybody to join or enter. Consequently, it is important to examine the backgrounds of those individuals who were known to take part within swimming-based wagers during these periods. For example, it is important to emphasize that there is no evidence of female participation within such events during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Swimming was an activity in which women in England did not tend to participate during these periods (Clias, 1825). This trend of non-participation was reflected in the fact that early swimming-based wagers appear to have been entirely male-dominated.

The main issue to consider in relation to those who participated in such events is that of social class. In many contemporary reports there is insufficient evidence to determine the social status of the participants. Nevertheless, there are some examples that can be used in order to indicate that people from different social backgrounds were occasionally known to participate in such events. For example, it was noted in the event that took place in July 1766 that the participant, Dobson, was referred to as a lighterman. The role of a lighterman was to work on a barge, on the rivers and waterways of England, in order to unload ships and vessels that had been used to transport goods and products from other towns, cities and countries (Wigglesworth, 1992). On this basis, it would seem that Dobson would have been from a lower class background. It was also noted within the event from May 1791 that the winning competitor had been taken to a local public house in order to celebrate his triumph. Public houses and alehouses typically catered to members of the lower social classes (Collins and Vamplew, 2002; M.A. Smith, 1983). On this basis, it would seem likely that this individual would also have been from a lower class background. It is also likely that the soldier who

completed a challenge to swim from Deal to Ramsgate in September 1805 would have been from the lower social classes. There is reference within the event from August 1832 to the employment of one of the competitors within that event as a bookseller, although it is difficult to determine whether this individual would have belonged to the lower or middle classes on the basis of such evidence. In addition, there is evidence that members of the upper classes occasionally took part in such events. For example, there is reference within the wager that took place in July 1826 to ‘two Gentlemen’ called Merchant and Billingham who competed against a Mr. Owens. The distinction of these two individuals as ‘gentlemen’ appears to be indicative of their superior social status. On this basis, it would appear that it was not unknown for members of the upper classes to compete against those from a lower social background within swimming-based wagers. However, there is insufficient evidence to determine whether members of the upper classes engaged in such events on a regular basis or whether this was, perhaps, a singular and more isolated occurrence.

In accordance with wider civilizing trends, there were numerous emerging sports and pastimes during these periods in which members of the nobility and aristocracy had been known to act as patrons to individuals from the lower social classes. This type of arrangement enabled members of the upper classes to ‘run’ their own competitors in activities such as pedestrianism, boxing and rowing (Sears, 2001; Sheard, 2004; Wigglesworth, 1992). In many instances, wagering upon their own contestant enabled members of the upper classes to experience a more ‘civilized’ and vicarious form of excitement through their association with such individuals rather than through their own participation within competitive events (Sheard, 2004). It is possible to demonstrate that numerous competitors within these early swimming-based wagers often appear to have been from the lower social classes. It would also seem that some members of the upper classes might have been interested in such events. Unfortunately, there is insufficient evidence within contemporary data to indicate whether members of the nobility or aristocracy might have patronized competitors from the lower social classes during these periods.

5.3.3 Outdoor Locations and the Risk of Drowning

Swimming is a relatively dangerous activity in comparison to many other sports and pastimes. Today, the risk of drowning within competitive swimming is reduced in accordance with the use of purpose-built indoor swimming baths as the location for

many events, the requirement for event organizers to abide by health and safety regulations, the availability of lifeguards and the fact that many competitors train to become relatively efficient and capable swimmers. In this manner, the relative danger of swimming is lessened. However, such safeguards have not always been evident within competition-based forms of swimming. For example, it would appear that there were greater risks to participation within many of the swimming-based wagers that took place during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Such events were held exclusively in natural outdoor locations during these periods. On this basis, it is important to appreciate that swimmers would have been affected by natural factors such as currents and tides and would also have been required to negotiate any obstacles and to avoid other people or vessels that might have been using the same stretch of water at the time of their event. The prevailing weather conditions would also have affected the state of the water within outdoor locations. Such factors would have impacted upon competitors and affected their level of performance and rate of progress. In addition, such factors would have contributed to the relative danger of participating within these events. There are three examples of competitors who drowned during swimming-based wagers in May 1811, July 1824 and August 1832. In the latter instance, it was noted that rescue boats had been available on the Serpentine. However, their crews had already been occupied with other people that were struggling in the water at the same time that the competitor within this event had sunk. In other words, these vessels appear to have been general rescue boats on the Serpentine rather than boats that had been chartered in order to accompany the competitors within this race. In all three instances in which competitors had drowned, it would appear that those who were involved in arranging these wagers had not taken any particular precautions, in advance, in an attempt to ensure the safety of competitors. Such incidents are indicative of the relative danger of participating within swimming-based wagers during these periods.

It has already been argued that some people, in accordance with wider civilizing trends, were gradually becoming more concerned with their own welfare and the welfare of others during these times. In particular, such trends had been evident in the increasing tendency for swimming to be advocated as a potential skill for reasons relating to self-preservation and for coming to the assistance of others who were in danger of drowning. Such developments also correspond to the fact that there were a few instances within contemporary swimming-based wagers in which concern for the welfare of others had been evident in the type of precautions that had been taken in order to safeguard

competitors. For example, in the event from October 1821 it was noted that one of the competitors had sunk towards the latter stages of the race and had been ‘immediately rescued by a waterman’. Similarly, it was noted in relation to the event from August 1834 that a boat had been chartered in order to accompany the race and that one of the competitors had been taken on board when his ability to swim had been hindered through cramp. Whilst it would seem on the basis of such developments that there was increasing concern, amongst some people, to prevent other people from drowning, it is important to reiterate that such developments were still occurring in the relatively early stages of a longer-term civilizing process. There is limited evidence to indicate that some people were beginning to take precautions in order to ensure the safety of competitors. However, it is also evident from the three previous examples of those competitors who had drowned whilst engaged in such events that people’s sensitivities had not sufficiently developed whereby it was deemed necessary to insist upon extra precautions being taken within all contemporary wagers in order to protect such competitors. In other words, it does not appear to have been a formal requirement for ‘lifeguards’ to be employed or boats to be chartered in order to accompany and safeguard the welfare of competitors. Consequently, such precautions do not appear to have been commonplace. Given that swimming-based wagers occurred within natural outdoor locations, the lack of such precautions continued to contribute to the relative danger of participating within many such events.

5.3.4 Swimming and the Seasons

Dunning and Sheard (2005) have argued that in some traditional pastimes, such as folk-football, matches frequently took place in order to coincide with particular occasions or festivities. There is no evidence to indicate that this was the case with swimming-based wagers. Instead, it would appear that such events occurred on a more sporadic and irregular basis between individuals. Nevertheless, it is important to note that all of the competitions that have been examined within this chapter took place between May and October. This seems to indicate that competitive-based swimming was considered to be a seasonal activity. This corresponds to the general guidance that had traditionally been offered to people who were learning to swim. Within sixteenth and seventeenth century swimming treatises it was consistently argued that the most appropriate times of the year for swimming were between May and August (see Middleton, 1595; Percey, 1658; Thevenot, 1699). By the nineteenth century, Hughes (1820) recommended a longer period of time between May and October. Such authors argued that it was too cold to

swim in these outdoor locations in other months and that it could prove to be detrimental to do so. This increasing concern for the welfare of others is again indicative of a gradual civilizing trend during these periods (Elias, 2000). In accordance with the general climate in England, it would have been healthier, safer and more enjoyable for people to swim in outdoor locations during the warmer months of the year. Clearly, this was also the case for early swimming-based wagers.

5.3.5 Early Styles of Swimming

There is insufficient evidence within many contemporary reports to determine the styles of swimming that were typically utilized within these earlier wagers. It was noted in the report of one event from July 1766 that the competitor had been required to ‘swim on his back’ throughout that particular challenge. This type of restriction does not appear to have been common. Indeed, in the majority of instances there do not seem to have been any restrictions upon the styles of swimming that could be utilized. Given that there are no further references to swimming strokes within these reports, it is necessary to utilize other contemporary texts and treatises in order to examine the types of strokes and techniques that were known and practiced during these periods. This is a task that has often been overlooked within much existing literature. Orme (1983) has examined some of the early styles of swimming that were practiced during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Wilkie and Juba (1986) have also briefly commented upon some of the skills and techniques that were utilized. But the types of techniques that were utilized during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have received limited attention. Some authors have suggested that breaststroke was the prevailing style of swimming in England and/or Western Europe in the periods between the sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries (see Armbruster et al., 1968; Carlile, 1963; Colwin, 1992, 2002). Accordingly, such authors have often overlooked or downplayed the fact that other styles of swimming were also known and practiced during these periods.

A range of swimming skills and techniques were described within contemporary texts such as rudimentary forms of the dog paddle, swimming under the water, treading water and different methods of floating (see Middleton, 1595; Percey, 1658; Thevenot, 1699; Fenning and Malham, 1788; Salzmann, 1800; Frost, 1816; Hughes, 1820; Elias, 1825). In particular, it is important to appreciate that such authors often described styles of swimming on the breast, back and side. It will be argued in subsequent chapters that these styles of swimming provided the initial technical basis for the development of

more modern breaststroke, backstroke and frontcrawl techniques during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In other words, it is important from a conceptual and theoretical basis to indicate that different styles of swimming on the breast, back and side were known and practiced during these earlier periods.

A rudimentary form of breaststroke was consistently the first style of swimming to be outlined in different texts from across the period between the late sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries (see Middleton, 1595, cited in Orme, 1983; Percey, 1658; Thevenot, 1699; Fenning and Malham, 1788; Salzmänn, 1800; Frost, 1816; Hughes, 1820; Cliaş, 1825; Anonymous, 1833).² The prominence of this style of swimming within these texts appears to be indicative of the relative importance of the breaststroke in comparison to many other styles that were known and practiced during these periods. Indeed, some authors described breaststroke as the most widespread style of swimming. For example, Percey (1658) described breaststroke as the ‘usual posture’ and the ‘common way of swimming’. Similarly, Frost (1816, p.6) referred to breaststroke as the ‘general mode of swimming’ in the early nineteenth century. Such comments are further indicative that many people often utilized an early form of breaststroke during these periods.

Swimming on the back was consistently the second style of swimming to be described within contemporary texts and treatises (see Middleton, 1595; Percey, 1658; Thevenot, 1699; Fenning and Malham, 1788; Salzmänn, 1800; Frost, 1816; Hughes, 1820; Cliaş, 1825; Anonymous, 1833). This style of swimming was very different from modern forms of backstroke. During these earlier periods, such authors typically described swimmers lying on their back and using a breaststroke leg-action. Some authors also referred to the option of using the hands in order to aid propulsion. In some instances, the potential for using the arms was only vaguely alluded to (see Percey, 1658; Thevenot, 1699; Fenning and Malham, 1788, Hughes, 1820). However, some authors described a motion in which both arms were fully extended, underneath the water, level with the shoulders, and then pushed down towards the legs in order to propel the swimmer (see Middleton, 1595; Frost, 1816). Frost (1816) also indicated that the hands,

² There are pages missing and/or damaged within both surviving copies of Middleton’s treatise from 1595 (Orme, 1983). Given that different pages are affected within these surviving texts, Orme (1983) has compiled a full version of Middleton’s treatise by comparing these two items. The pages detailing this early style of breaststroke were missing from the version of Middleton’s (1595) treatise that was available during this research. The other surviving treatise is held in America (Orme, 1983). Consequently, it is necessary to cite Middleton’s comments on this early form of breaststroke through the replicated version that is appended to the work of Orme (1983).

but not the arms, might then be brought out of the water as the arms were returned to their original starting position level with the shoulders. Some authors suggested that weaker, less experienced or more timid swimmers often struggled to learn how to swim on their back (Percey, 1658; Thevenot, 1699). Yet various authors also recommended the potential benefits of swimming on the back by emphasizing the relative simplicity and enjoyment of using this style when the skill had been properly learnt (Percey, 1658; Thevenot, 1699; Frost, 1816). Indeed, Percey (1658, p.24) maintained that ‘all expert Swimmers do commonly swim upon their backs’. This technique might not have been as popular or as widespread as the breaststroke, but it would seem that swimming on the back might have been practiced amongst those individuals who were more skilled and proficient in the water.

Early forms of the sidestroke were also evident within texts and treatises throughout the period from the late sixteenth century (see Middleton, 1595; Percey, 1658; Thevenot, 1699; Frost, 1816; Hughes, 1820; Clia, 1825). Such authors described swimmers lying on their side and using a breaststroke leg-action. Both arms remained in the water throughout the stroke. The lower arm would be stretched out beyond the head and then pulled back towards the body. Some authors also described the uppermost arm being used in front of the chest in order to push briefly down towards the hips. Not all contemporary authors described the sidestroke within their work (see, for example, Fenning and Malham, 1788; Salzmann, 1800; Anonymous, 1833). When this style of swimming was outlined, it was often positioned at a much later point within the text (see Middleton, 1595; Percey, 1658; Thevenot, 1699; Frost, 1816; Hughes, 1820; Clia, 1825). In other words, it would appear that the sidestroke was deemed to be a less popular and less useful method of swimming than either the breaststroke or swimming on the back. Indeed, Frost (1816, p.47) referred to the sidestroke as ‘playful’ and ‘amusing’ but ‘not... of prime importance’. The sidestroke was known and might have been utilized by some people during these periods, but it would seem that it was not practiced as widely as other contemporary styles of swimming on the breast and back.

Another aspect that has often been downplayed or overlooked within much existing literature is that there were important developments in the types of techniques that were utilized when swimming on the breast, back and side in the period between the late sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In other words, there is evidence that some people were gradually beginning to analyze, revise and refine the types of movements

and techniques that were utilized within some swimming strokes during these periods. This point can be demonstrated in relation to contemporary descriptions of the arm and leg actions that were utilized within early forms of the breaststroke (see table 5.2). For example, Middleton (1595, cited in Orme, 1983) described early breaststroke arm and leg actions in a rather brief manner that was suggestive of relatively basic inward and outward motions. By the late seventeenth century, Thevenot (1699) was beginning to provide a clearer depiction of a circular arm-movement for the breaststroke. But it was not until the early nineteenth century that Salzmänn (1800), Frost (1816) and Clia (1825) began to describe the details of these arm and leg actions with much greater precision. This is evident in the increasing tendency for such authors to describe the position of the fingers, thumbs and elbows, the required shape of the hand, the angle at which the hands should be positioned and the relative depth of the arms during the breaststroke arm-movement. Likewise, such authors also began to describe the movements of the ankles, heels, toes and knees at different points during the breaststroke leg-action. But in light of such developments, it is also important to emphasize that this trend towards greater precision within contemporary descriptions was not evident amongst all authors. Indeed, Hughes (1820) and the Anonymous (1833) author of the *Twelve Maxims on Swimming* both continued to outline relatively brief instructions for the breaststroke. These instructions remained similar to those that had been advocated by other authors during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Table 5.2: Contemporary Descriptions of Breaststroke Arm and Leg Actions, c.1595-1833

	Arm Action	Leg Action
Middleton (1595)	...draw... in his arms close to his breast, holding his hands broadways together under his chin with the palms down... put forth his hands as far as he can and draw them in again as afore.	...and likewise his feet.
Percey (1658)	...stretching straight out your hands before you, drawing them back again to your breast.	...and likewise drawing up your leggs [sic] and extending them straight again.
Thevenot (1699)	...strike out your Arms forwards, and spread them open, then draw them in again towards your Breast.	...withdraw your Legs from the Bottom, and immediately stretch them out again.
Fenning & Malham (1788)	...strike forwards with the arms, spreading them open, and then drawing them in towards the breast.	...draw the legs from the bottom, and immediately stretch them out again.
Salzmann (1800)	The fingers and thumb of each hand being close together, and the elbows bent, the two thumbs should be brought into contact, or the hands laid one upon the other, and thus, keeping the surfaces in a horizontal position, they should be thrust forward as near the surface of the water as possible, till the arms are extended in a straight line. At this point the hands should be turned so as to be nearly perpendicular to the plane of the horizon, the thumbs being downward, and the fingers being very slightly bent so as for the inside of the hand to form a trifling hollow; and in this manner they should be moved in a curve first outwards and then backwards.	...the heels are to be drawn up toward the buttocks, either keeping them close together, or which is the practice of the best swimmers, crossing the legs at the small... the feet should be moved outwards and backwards... the soles pushing against the water, till the legs are brought close together in an extended position, which finishes the stroke.
Frost (1816)	To put the hand into a proper position for swimming, the fingers must be held close together, with the thumb by the edge of the forefinger; and that the fingers may properly adhere, the hand should be made a little concave on the inside... Care must be taken, however, not to hollow the hand too much; for that would diminish its size, and, consequently, its power in the water... [the hands] must be placed before the breast; the wrist may touch the breast, and the fingers must point before it... What are termed the elevations of the hands must now be noticed. The <i>first elevation</i> of the <i>hands</i> is found by raising the fingers higher than the <i>thick</i> of the hands, by three or four inches at the ends; the <i>second elevation</i> of the <i>hands</i> is made by raising the outer edge, or little-finger side, two or three inches higher than the inner edge, or thumb side; and as the outer stroke is performed, this elevation must be a little increased... The first part of the stroke is made by striking the hands straight forward before the breast, to the extent of the arms; and it is in this part of the stroke that the first elevation of the	The legs being larger and stronger than the arms, have much more power in swimming, when properly exercised... The first part of the action of the legs, is to draw them in as high as possible; when a turn of the ancle [sic] must be made, so as to cause the soles of the feet to incline outward, the knees at the same time inclining inward: the feet must now be struck out as widely from each other as can be done, to the extent of the legs. In the next place, the legs must be brought down briskly, until the feet come nearly together... Here it is worthy of remark, that in the first part of the action of the legs, viz. in drawing them in, there is a manifest loss; that in throwing them out, there is a gain equal to that loss, and that so far no advantage has been derived; but the action of bringing down the legs, which possesses by far the greatest power, is all clear gain... If the turn of the ancle [sic] and knees here described, should be neglected to be made, considerable loss will be sustained, as the feet cannot be thrown out advantageously without it.

	hands is required; for it may be easily perceived, that if the hands are not elevated, but struck out horizontally, they will only part the water, without producing buoyancy. Care should be taken in this part of the stroke, that the fingers do not even break the surface of the water, as that circumstance would very much lessen the power of the hands. In making the <i>outer stroke</i> , the first elevation of the hands is to be disused; that is, the hands should decline, in order to have greater power; but the second elevation must be preserved: in this position the hands must descend till they come as <i>low as the hips</i> , yet keeping at a considerable distance from them. It is the position of the hands that gives them their proper <i>bearing</i> in the water, and preserves their <i>peculiar</i> power... The <i>stroke</i> of the arms being made as directed, the hands are to be raised to the breast by a turn of the wrist, causing them to hang down, while the arms raise them up... The action of the arms in swimming, should be smooth and gentle. When accurately performed, their movement may be compared to the circular motion of a wheel on its centre; with this difference; that the wheel goes round with an equable pace, while the arms move quickest in that part of their action which does not produce buoyancy; that is, the hands move quicker when rising, and slower when making the outer stroke.	
Hughes (1820)	...strike out your arms forward, and spread them open, then draw them in again toward your breast.	...withdraw your legs from the bottom, and immediately stretch them out in imitation of a frog.
Clias (1825)	The motion of the arms is divided into two parts; <i>First</i> . – The hands are turned horizontally, or kept close together, the palms downwards, the arms held stiffly, proceed asunder, and the hands, with the edge of the thumb, inclined somewhat downwards. The arms must always remain in advance of a line which we may suppose drawn through the shoulders. <i>Second</i> . – When the arms have reached their greatest degree of extension, the hands are turned, the thumb downwards; the arms, stretched, describe half a circle, of which the body is the centre, and being then curved rectangularly with the body, the hands pass near the arm-pits, and extend forwards, as in the first position.	The motion of the legs is divided into three parts: <i>First</i> , the legs are slowly drawn under the body, and, at the same time, the knees separate to the greatest possible distance; the spine is bent downwards, and the toes kept outwards. <i>Second</i> , the legs are stiffly stretched out with a moderate degree of quickness, while the heels are separated, and the legs describe the widest possible angle, the toes contracted and kept outwards. <i>Third</i> , the legs, with the knees held stiffly, are quickly brought together, and thus the original position is again obtained. When the pupil is capable of executing these motions without a fault, then the second and third motion are to be blended together in such a manner that a kind of <i>circle</i> is formed by both of them, which must be as <i>extended</i> as possible, and the whole must have an accelerating movement.
Anonymous (1833)	...place your hands, with the fingers and thumbs closed, just below the surface, close to your body, and... make a sweeping, horizontal stroke outwards with each of them, to the greatest possible extent.	...raise your feet as high as you can, draw them towards your hams, and... strike out with your feet.

Sources: Middleton (1595, cited in Orme, 1983, p.132); Percey (1658, p.21); Thevenot (1699, p.16); Fenning and Malham (1788, p.399); Salzmann (1800, p.356-357); Frost (1816, p.6-12; original emphases); Hughes (1820, p.12); Clias (1825, p.160-162; original emphases); Anonymous (1833, p.19-20).

It is evident from these various descriptions that breaststroke was not a fixed and static style of swimming during these periods and that some people were gradually beginning to describe the breaststroke with greater precision. However, breaststroke was not the only stroke that was gradually described in greater detail. This trend towards greater precision was also evident in relation to contemporary descriptions of other strokes and techniques such as swimming on the back (see Middleton, 1595; Percey, 1658; Thevenot, 1699; Fenning and Malham, 1788; Salzmänn, 1800; Frost, 1816; Hughes, 1820; Clias, 1825; Anonymous, 1833). Likewise, some authors gradually began to describe movements for the sidestroke in greater detail (see Middleton, 1595; Percey, 1658; Thevenot, 1699; Frost, 1816; Hughes, 1820; Clias, 1825). In other words, each of these styles of swimming on the breast, back and side were gradually altered, revised and examined in greater detail as some people sought to improve the existing styles of swimming.

It was noted in Chapter 1 that many authors have often failed to locate the development of swimming strokes and techniques within a wider social and theoretical context. Consequently, it is important to undertake this task in order to provide a more adequate basis to strive to explain the developments in strokes and techniques that have been examined during these periods. However, the development of swimming strokes is also a running theme throughout the three following chapters and, therefore, the remaining years of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. As such, it is also important to explain the development of strokes and techniques during these earlier periods in order to provide a more adequate theoretical and conceptual basis to examine the ongoing development of swimming strokes in later periods.

The increasing concern with the development and refinement of strokes and techniques in the periods between the late sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries is indicative of a range of interweaving social processes. In accordance with ongoing processes of state formation and pacification, there was a growing tendency for people to exercise greater self-control over their feelings and behaviour (Elias, 2000). This tendency towards greater self-control was reflected in a concomitant trend for people to demonstrate greater detachment from their immediate situations and emotions. Elias (2000, p.414) described this trend as a long-term process of 'rationalization... a strengthening of less affective, less fantasy-orientated modes of thought and experience'. Over time, such developments contributed to the emergence and increasing acceptance of scientific

forms of thought and measurement (Elias, 1987). Elias (1987, p.xxxix) argued that this ‘comprehensive change in the personality structure of people... found expression in many other spheres of their life’. The increasing level of analytical detail and precision that was gradually applied to these rudimentary styles of swimming on the front, back and side in the period between the late sixteenth century and the early 1830s reflected these long-term trends towards the rationalization of human behaviour. However, it is also important to appreciate that the civilizing process – including these tendencies towards greater self-control and rationalization – is not a theory of simple, linear and uniform progression (Elias, 2000). Although there was a prevailing trend towards more controlled and rational forms of behaviour during these periods, this does not mean that all people within and throughout the wider social network experienced the same levels of internal constraint and the same tendencies towards rationalized scientific thought. Hence, there was an emerging trend for some nineteenth century authors to examine, refine and describe swimming strokes in greater detail. Nevertheless, others continued to advocate the same techniques that had been practiced in earlier periods.

Despite evidence within various texts and treatises that different styles of swimming were known, practiced and revised during these periods, it remains difficult to determine which of these strokes might have been utilized within contemporary swimming-based wagers. It is possible to demonstrate that some authors held certain perceptions about the relative speeds of these different styles of swimming. For example, Middleton (1595) described the sidestroke as the fastest method of swimming. In contrast, swimming on the back was described as a relatively fast method of progression during the seventeenth century for making progress in rough water and against stronger currents (see Percey, 1658; Thevenot, 1699). In the mid-1820s, Elias (1825, p.169) argued that ‘as swimming on the side presents to the water a smaller surface than on the waist, when rapidity is required, the former [the sidestroke] is often preferable’. The notion that swimming on the side resulted in less resistance against the water is indicative of the application of more rationalized forms of scientific thought in the analysis of contemporary styles of swimming. But even though some individuals argued that swimming on the back and side might have been faster than the breaststroke, the question is to what extent such opinions might have been known and/or accepted amongst those who took part within these early swimming-based wagers? In comparison to later eras, the chains of interdependence between contemporary swimmers were relatively short. Indeed, these early swimming-based wagers generally

took place on a sporadic basis in the form of a wager between small numbers of individuals. Consequently, opportunities for swimmers to observe and examine the techniques that were utilized by others for the purpose of racing would have remained rather limited during these periods. It is not possible to rule out that some people might have utilized styles of swimming on the back and side for the purpose of racing, particularly when there do not appear to have been any restrictions on the styles of swimming that could be utilized within such events. However, Kenworthy (1846) later argued that in previous decades there had been a more general and common perception amongst many people that breaststroke had been the fastest method of swimming. This would also appear to correspond to the contention that breaststroke was the main and prominent style of swimming during these earlier periods. In addition, Kenworthy (1846) indicated that it was only in the early-to-mid 1840s that it had become more common for people to view the sidestroke as the fastest method of swimming. In other words, it would seem that even though some people argued that greater speed could be obtained through other methods of swimming, it might still have been the breaststroke that was commonly utilized within swimming-based wagers during these earlier periods between the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

5.4 Towards a Typology of Early Swimming-Based Wagers

Within their examination of the emergence and development of modern forms of rugby, Dunning and Sheard (2005) incorporated a table in which they summarized the main characteristics of traditional folk-games in comparison to those of modern sports. Although the summative table provided by Dunning and Sheard (2005) contains various traits that can be described as relatively generic within the development of many modern sports, their analysis is based upon the emergence and development of the team-based ball game of rugby. Accordingly, there are elements within their summative table that do not correspond to the emerging sport of swimming. For this reason, there remains scope to develop a swimming-specific typology summarizing the key characteristics of early swimming-based wagers in comparison to modern forms of competitive swimming (see table 5.3). This approach is important, at this stage, for two main reasons: (a) it enables the underlying characteristics of these early swimming-based wagers to be placed in context; and (b) it provides an initial basis for examining the long-term transition from these antecedent swimming-based wagers towards those characteristics underpinning modern forms of competitive swimming.

Table 5.3: The Characteristics of Early Swimming-Based Wagers and Modern Competitive Swimming

Swimming-Based Wagers, c.1760s-1830s	Modern Competitive Swimming
Based upon a cash wager, either in the form of a challenge (completed by an individual person) or a contest (between two or more competitors).	Based upon a championship format (incorporating a series of heats and a subsequent final) for titles, trophies or medals.
Arranged between individuals.	Organized at club, regional, district, national and international levels.
Sporadic and irregular events.	Organized calendar of events. Many events recur at regular intervals i.e. every year (e.g. club championships, national championships) or every four years (e.g. Olympics).
Limited to the warmer months of the year.	Year-round activity.
Rules were minimal, varied between events and were based predominantly upon agreement between individuals.	Detailed rules are laid down by national and international governing bodies and are generally standardized across all levels of competition. Swimmers must conform to the rules or face disqualification.
Some events were based upon the premise of swimming as far as possible, in others a course would be defined by using specific landmarks to denote the start and finish. It was not deemed necessary to measure the distance to be covered.	Events are strictly defined in relation to the distance that will be covered e.g. 50 metres, 100 metres, 200 metres, etc.
Times were not generally recorded, although an approximate time (roughly to the nearest minute) would occasionally be included within the report of an event.	Times are recorded as a matter of routine by designated timekeepers (using stopwatches) and can also be recorded electronically with electronic touch-pads. Times tend to be recorded to the precision of 1/100 th of a second.
More-or-less impossible to compare performances between different locations.	The adoption of standardized racing distances and timing of competitors enables performances to be easily compared between different locations.
Often no restrictions upon the style(s) of swimming that could be used.	Four designated styles of swimming are used: freestyle, backstroke, breaststroke and butterfly. Laws have been formulated to govern the type of actions and movements that are permissible.
No designated officials to supervise events.	Officials perform a designated task (e.g. starter, turn-judge, timekeeper) and are empowered to disqualify competitors who transgress the rules.
Events took place in outdoor locations e.g. rivers, lakes and the sea. However, it was not deemed necessary to measure, mark-out or segregate smaller and more controllable areas of water within these larger bodies of water. Swimmers were affected by natural factors such as tides and currents or the need to negotiate obstacles or other forms of traffic.	There are still some open-water swimming contests. However, most events now occur within purpose-built swimming pools that are either a standard short-course (25 metres) or long-course (50 metres) length. The use of purpose-built pools minimizes the impact of natural factors. Each swimmer is allocated to their own lane of the pool in order to ensure that there will be no obstacles in their course and to prevent collisions with other competitors. Anti-wave lane ropes are often utilized in order to demarcate these separate lanes.
Participation was relatively dangerous. No additional precautions seem to have been taken in order to ensure the safety of competitors.	Participation is relatively safe. Event organizers are expected to conform to relevant safety regulations and trained lifeguards are on hand.
Contests were male-dominated. There is no evidence to indicate female participation.	Men and women now compete, separately, across the same range of strokes and distances.
Small numbers of competitors took part in events.	Large numbers can now take part in a given event. All entrants compete in a series of heats, with the fastest swimmers qualifying for a final.

The characteristics underpinning these early swimming-based wagers are indicative of a relatively unstructured activity in the early stages of a long-term process of sportization. Within the remaining chapters of this thesis the aim is to examine those processes that contributed to the long-term development of competition-based forms of swimming from the type of swimming-based wagers that occurred during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to the more structured and organized forms of modern competitive swimming that are depicted in the right hand column of the above table. The next stage in this process occurred in the period 1830s-1860s. It is important to reiterate that these are not intended as rigid periods of time. There is, of course, a degree of overlap in the type of competitive events that took place within the various periods that are examined during the course of this investigation. However, there was a notable trend from the mid-to-late 1830s towards the emergence of more varied and complex competitions under the jurisdiction of different people and groups. It is the processes underpinning such developments that will now be examined.

Chapter 6: The Incipient Modernization of Swimming-Based Competitions, c.1830s-1860s

6.1 Introduction

Swimming-based wagers had traditionally occurred on a rather limited and sporadic basis and at a relatively low level of organization in the form of a direct challenge or contest between two or more individuals. In the period between the late 1830s and late 1860s there was a gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence and greater levels of organization within the emerging sport of competitive swimming. The wider social processes that contributed towards the emergence of the first swimming-based societies in the late 1830s and early 1840s will first be examined. Consideration will then turn to a range of modernizing trends that occurred in the period between the 1840s and late 1860s. Developments over this period included: (a) the increasing provision of indoor public baths; (b) the formation of increasing numbers of swimming-based societies, clubs and associations; (c) the emergence of notions of amateurism and professionalism in relation to competition-based forms of swimming; and (d) increasing diversity in the types of swimming-based competitions that were held during these periods. It will be argued that such developments are indicative of a process of 'incipient modernization' within swimming-based competitions in the period between the late 1830s and late 1860s (Dunning and Sheard, 2005, p.69).

6.2 The Emergence of Early Swimming-Based Societies

Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, swimming contests had consistently taken place on a rather unstructured and sporadic basis, typically in the form of a cash wager between two or more individuals. However, there was a gradual trend towards the emergence of more structured and organized swimming-based contests following the formation of larger numbers of swimming societies throughout the period between the late 1830s and late 1860s. The first swimming-based societies appear to have been established in London in the late 1830s and early 1840s. The NSS is the first example of such an organization. The earliest references to the NSS were available within contemporary newspaper reports from 1837 (see *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 20 August 1837, 10 September 1837; *The Morning Post*, 4 November 1837; *The Standard*, 4 November 1837; *The Times*, 4 November 1837, p.6). It would seem that one of the main objectives of the NSS was to provide a more structured social setting for teaching larger numbers of people to swim. For example,

there were reported to be approximately 300 members of the NSS in 1837. Many of these members were already capable swimmers, whereas others were currently learning to swim (see *The Morning Post*, 4 November 1837; *The Standard*, 4 November 1837; *The Times*, 4 November 1837, p.6). It was later claimed that over 3,000 people had been taught to swim under the tutelage of the NSS by 1840 (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 19 July 1840). The NSS utilized the Serpentine in Hyde Park, London, for their swimming activities. However, there is insufficient evidence within these available sources to determine the types of people that became members of the NSS or those that were involved in the institution and management of this organization. Indeed, it has been argued within existing research that there still remains considerable scope to investigate the various activities of the NSS during these periods (see Love, 2003). This remains the case in relation to the more general teaching activities of the NSS. However, it is now possible to provide a more detailed examination of the types of competitive events that took place under the jurisdiction of the NSS during the late 1830s and early-to-mid 1840s than has hitherto been undertaken within much existing research.

The NSS held at least three swimming-based competitions during their inaugural season. There was little information relating to these inaugural events within contemporary reports (see *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 20 August 1837, 10 September 1837). However, more detail was available regarding an NSS event that was held in the Serpentine during the following year. This event took place over a five-day period. One race was held each morning in the Serpentine between Monday 20 and Thursday 23 August. Three swimmers qualified from each of these races for the 'grand match' that was held on Friday 24 August when the twelve qualifiers competed for the gold medal that was awarded to the winner. The terms underpinning these preliminary races are not outlined, but it was reported that for the 'grand match' the swimmers would be expected to swim across the Serpentine, touch the far bank and swim back again to the starting point (see *The Morning Post*, 21 August 1838, 25 August 1838). This event is important as the first available example of a more structured and organized format within a swimming contest in which a series of heats had taken place in order to allow the fastest competitors to qualify for a subsequent final.

It has not been possible to determine from contemporary data whether this event was held again in 1839. However, it can be shown that the NSS continued to organize this

event throughout the period between 1840 and 1845 and that these races had started to be described as the 'annual' races of the NSS (see *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 19 July 1840; *The Era*, 18 September 1842, 28 September 1845; *The Morning Chronicle*, 19 August 1843; *The Morning Post*, 14 August 1844; *The Standard*, 21 August 1841). These events continued to take place over a five-day period in the form of heats and a final. By the 1840s it had become customary for silver medals to be awarded to the three fastest competitors in the final instead of just one gold medal for the winner. The designated course was still to swim across the Serpentine and back to the starting point, which had been estimated within one of these subsequent articles as a distance of approximately a quarter of a mile (*The Standard*, 21 August 1841). It had also been noted that the competitors within this event were required to wear coloured caps in order that their identities could be determined more easily whilst swimming and upon reaching the finishing point (*The Standard*, 21 August 1841; *The Morning Chronicle*, 19 August 1843). In addition, there were some instances in which the time of the winning competitor had been recorded (*The Standard*, 21 August 1841; *The Morning Chronicle*, 19 August 1843).

The organizational structure within the NSS provided a basis for their competitions to be arranged at a higher level of organization than traditional cash wagers. The rules for cash wagers had traditionally been negotiated between individual competitors. However, the rules for those events that took place under the management of the NSS were outlined in advance and at a higher level of organization. In other words, it was those in positions of relative influence within the NSS that determined such rules. There was then an expectation that all of the competitors that entered their events would accept the terms that had been outlined. This type of 'club' structure was important in providing an initial basis for more complex events to take place. For example, it was possible at this higher level of organization for larger numbers of entrants to be accommodated within NSS events through a system of heats and finals. In addition, all such competitors were expected to accept standard terms that did not require or permit a process of negotiation. This provided a basis for larger numbers of competitors to enter NSS events and was important in facilitating the emergence of annual championships that were organized in a series of heats and finals. In addition, such developments provided a basis for the emergence of an annual calendar of events. Traditional cash wagers had often been arranged in the form of a one-off challenge between two or more individuals. But with a more stable 'club' structure, at a higher level of organization, there was greater scope

for members of the NSS to plan for their events to recur in the same format on an annual basis.

Elias (1986a) argued that the emergence of clubs and societies in England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries could be explained in relation to ongoing processes of state-formation and pacification. More particularly, he argued that the emergence of parliamentary governance in England had enabled people to enjoy greater opportunities to form their own groups than in many other European nations in which the style of government was more autocratic. Such processes are important in helping to explain the formation of clubs and societies within a range of emerging sports, activities and pastimes in England during these periods (Elias, 1986a). Indeed, it is important to examine the emergence of the NSS within the context of these various interweaving processes. In the previous chapter it was argued that there had been an increasing tendency to advocate the potential benefits of swimming for the health, well-being, safety and welfare of oneself and others. One of the main underpinning activities of the NSS was to encourage larger numbers of people to learn how to swim, which is indicative of these wider civilizing processes. In this manner, the emergence of the NSS can be linked to lengthening chains of interdependence that underpinned such civilizing trends. However, these trends towards greater interdependence were also reflected in ongoing processes of urbanization and industrialization that took place in England from the mid-to-late eighteenth century. Many of the earliest industrial developments were based upon water as a means of generating power as well as transporting goods and materials. Consequently, many industrializing towns and cities were situated on or near the coast or along the major waterways and rivers of England. The early stages of industrial development were also characterized by a large-scale expansion of the canal network throughout England (see Porteous, 1977). With increasing numbers of people working and living in industrializing towns and cities, there was a concomitant trend towards larger numbers of people living in closer proximity to and becoming more dependent upon the lakes, rivers, canals and seas of England in the period between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. The emergence of a society such as the NSS was indicative of the interweaving of these wider social processes. People enjoyed the relative freedom to form clubs and societies of their own choosing. In addition, there were gradual trends towards larger numbers of people living in proximity to water as well as increasing concerns regarding issues of health, safety and welfare. It was in accordance with these interweaving civilizing trends that there emerged a felt

compunction, amongst some people, to establish societies such as the NSS in order to facilitate and encourage the learning and teaching of swimming. The fact that such groups also organized competitive events was a further reflection of a wider civilizing trend – as discussed in the previous chapter – in which people were increasingly expected to enjoy heightened levels of tension-excitement within a more controlled and ‘acceptable’ social context.

The preceding NSS events had been held in London. However, those in positions of relative influence within the NSS also decided in 1840 that prizes should be sent to other towns and cities in order to encourage larger numbers of people across the country to learn how to swim. The intention was for a series of local championships to take place and for this to culminate in twelve local champions being brought together on an annual basis in London so that a championship event could be decided between them:

In order to facilitate that extension of the art throughout the kingdom, the society has resolved to send immediately a silver medal to every city and town of importance, where the swimmers will club together and make an official application at the society’s house, 57, Berwick street, Oxford-street. Those who gain the society’s first silver prize medal, are... according to the rules of the races, termed champions of the town or place where the prizes are won. They then retire from the list of competitors for the silver medals being then entitled to become candidates for the gold medal and chain, value 20 guineas, which will be swam for in London, as soon as 12 qualified champion competitors have come together for that purpose. The gold medal and chain becomes the property of him who gains it four successive seasons: he is then termed “champion of champions,” and retires for ever from the field of competition with his medals of honour (*Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 19 July 1840).

At the time that these regulations were outlined, it had already been decided that medals would be forwarded to Plymouth, Dundee, Aberdeen, Perth and Hull (*Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 19 July 1840). There were also reports that NSS medals were sent to Glasgow and Oxford in 1840, Bristol and Plymouth in 1841 and Cambridge, Aberdeen, Worcester, Aberystwyth and Cork in 1842 (see *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 12 July 1840, 3 July 1842, 28 August 1842, 10 September 1843; *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 22 August 1840; *Bristol Mercury*, 7 August

1841; *The Era*, 3 July 1842; *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, 11 August 1842).¹ In spite of the initial terms that had been outlined, it is evident from these later reports that it had become customary for three silver NSS medals to be sent to each destination. However, it was still only the winner of each local event that was eligible to compete in the champion-of-champions event in London.

Although the NSS distributed medals to representatives within other towns and cities, they did not attempt to enforce any standardized rules or regulations upon them. Instead, the arrangements for such events were entrusted to the local representatives or societies that had requested NSS medals to be forwarded to their region. Consequently, there was often considerable variation in the types of contests that were held within different locations (see table 6.1).

¹ Although NSS medals had been forwarded to Plymouth in 1841 and to Cambridge in 1842, it was noted in later reports that these medals had not yet been contended for and that the medals intended for competition in Plymouth had been returned to the NSS (*The Era*, 3 September 1843; *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 10 September 1843).

Table 6.1: Local Competitions for Silver Medals Distributed by the NSS

	Glasgow (August 1840)	Oxford (August 1840)	Bristol (August 1841)	Aberdeen (August 1842)	Worcester (August 1842)
Event Organizer	Glasgow Swimming Society	Oxford Swimming Society	Bristol Swimming Society	Not Stated	Not Stated
Location	River Clyde	The River at Kennington Ranch	River Avon	The Craiglug	River Severn
Format of Event	Held as a single race.	5 heats and a final (the two fastest swimmers in each heat qualifying to compete in the final).	This event had initially been advertized to take place as three separate races, with a medal to be awarded to the winner of each race. However, the final report appears to indicate that only one race took place.	Two races were held. Urquhart won both of these races and was, therefore, awarded the 1 st and 2 nd medals. Kerr placed second in both races and so was rewarded with the 3 rd medal.	Two races were held. Medals were awarded to those who finished 1 st and 2 nd in the Champion's Race. The 3 rd medal was awarded to the winner of a race that was restricted to youths under 16 years of age. Heats and finals were arranged for both events.
Distance	From the Springboards to the Floating Baths (c.960 Yards).	Approximately 400 Yards.	440 Yards.	Across the Craiglug and back again to the starting point. The distance of this course was not estimated.	Champion's Medal: 500 yards in the heats and 250 yards in the final. Boys' Medal: 100 yards.
Number of Competitors	10	20	22	7	Champion's Medal: 13. Boys' Medal: 6.
Officials	Not Stated	Not Stated	3 Umpires	Not Stated	Chairman Secretary Umpire
Recorded Time	Completed within 18 Minutes	7 Minutes 9 Seconds	11 ½ Minutes	Not Stated	Not Stated
Estimated Number of Spectators	30,000	3,000	4,000	5,000	An 'immense number'

Sources: *Caledonian Mercury* (10 August 1840); *Jackson's Oxford Journal* (22 August 1840, 29 August 1840); *Bristol Mercury* (7 August 1841, 21 August 1841); *Caledonian Mercury* (20 August 1842); *Berrow's Worcester Journal* (18 August 1842, 1 September 1842).

The lack of standardization between the types of events that were held within these different locations is apparent from the various formats and distances that had been utilized, even though the intention was for the winners of these different events to be brought together in order to compete for the same champion-of-champions prize.² This level of diversity would not occur within a modern competitive event. However, there are several additional points to be noted on the basis of these data. For example, it is evident that several other swimming-based societies had also started to emerge within towns and cities other than London. Larger numbers of competitors were entering such events than had been the case within traditional swimming-based wagers. Such events continued to occur in natural outdoor locations. Designated officials had been appointed, in some instances, in order to oversee these competitions and approximate times had been recorded within some events. Furthermore, even though the estimated figures for the number of spectators attending these events must be viewed with a degree of caution, these contemporary reports suggest that such events were drawing relatively large crowds. Such arrangements are again indicative that competitions held under the auspices of different groups and representatives were also arranged at a higher level of organization than more traditional swimming-based wagers.

The fact that members of the NSS had attempted to establish a champion-of-champions event is indicative of their efforts to encourage the practice of swimming within towns and cities other than London. However, it should also be noted that the NSS was not the only swimming society operating in London during the early 1840s. Indeed, there is also evidence to indicate that a British Swimming Society (BSS) had been established in 1841. To date, there has been confusion amongst different authors regarding whether the NSS and BSS were separate societies or interchangeable names for the same organization (see, for example, Keil and Wix, 1996; Love, 2003; Terret, 1995). Such problems appear to have stemmed from a lack of contemporary data in order to clarify this point. But on the basis of evidence that has been uncovered during the course of this investigation, it can now be shown that the NSS and BSS were in fact two separate societies. There are at least three instances in which the NSS and BSS were identified as different societies and afforded separate reports within the same newspaper column (see

² It is possible to demonstrate that the champion-of-champions race had been held in 1841 between twelve competitors for the gold medal and chain (see *The Era*, 22 August 1841). However, no further reports have been uncovered to indicate whether the champion-of-champions race took place again after this initial event from 1841. The lack of subsequent reports for this event might indicate that the potential problems of bringing together twelve champion swimmers from different regions of the country had restricted the extent to which the champion-of-champions race was held in practice.

The Era, 11 September 1842, 18 September 1842, 3 September 1843). Furthermore, comparisons were drawn between some of the arrangements for the annual races of the NSS and BSS within the latter of these sources. On this basis, it is evident that the NSS and BSS had been two separate societies.

In many respects, it would appear that the formation of the NSS had afforded a template for the later institution of the BSS. For example, it was noted in one contemporary article that the BSS had initially been established in 1841 with the objective:

to promote health, cleanliness, and the preservation of life by the practice of bathing and by teaching and encouraging the art of swimming. One of the modes, and it is understood to be the principal means by which they [the BSS] advance those objects, is inducing the members and others to compete for prizes (*The Times*, 6 September 1843, p.3).

The notions that swimming was an important skill for the purpose of self-preservation and for coming to the aid of others as well as a means towards greater health and cleanliness are again indicative that groups such as the BSS had been established in accordance with the interweaving of long-term civilizing processes. In addition, there are a number of reports to indicate that annual races had been held by the BSS in the Serpentine in 1841, 1842 and 1843 (see *The Morning Post*, 18 September 1841, p.5; *The Times*, 18 September 1841, p.7; *The Era*, 19 September 1841; 11 September 1842; 18 September 1842; 3 September 1843; *The Standard*, 20 September 1841). The general terms within these events appear to have been based upon those of the NSS. For example, these events took place in a series of heats over a four-day period. Three competitors qualified from each of these races for the final, which took place on the fifth day of competition. The designated course was to swim across the Serpentine and back to the starting point, which had been estimated at a distance of approximately 400 feet. In addition, it had been noted that each competitor was expected to wear a coloured cap as a means of identification. As such, it is evident that these races had occurred in a manner that was more-or-less identical to the annual races of the NSS. The only notable difference was that members of the BSS offered larger numbers of medals as prizes for their finalists. In addition, there is a report that the BSS held an event for three silver medals at the National Baths in Holborn in 1843 for 'all young swimmers who have never gained a prize' (*The Era*, 23 July 1843). The definition of a 'young' swimmer was

not provided, but it was noted that there had been 25 entrants divided into five heats, with the winner of each heat qualifying to compete in the final. It had also been recorded that the National Baths were 100 feet long, although it is unclear how many lengths or what distance these competitors had completed during this event. Nevertheless, this contest is notable as the earliest available example of a competition being held within public baths rather than a more traditional outdoor location.

The emergence of the BSS is further indicative that various swimming societies had been established during these periods. The types of events that were arranged under the auspices of the BSS are also important in indicating that some people increasingly sought to arrange such contests at a higher level of organization than traditional cash wagers. In this respect, the formation of groups such as the NSS and BSS was important in facilitating the emergence of more complex swimming-based competitions. However, the last available references to the BSS and NSS can be found within articles that were published during 1844 and 1845 respectively (*The Standard*, 22 April 1844, p.1; *The Era*, 28 September 1845). Given that the BSS and NSS had been referred to on a consistent basis within contemporary newspapers prior to these points, it would seem that neither of these societies survived beyond the mid-1840s. It is unclear what happened to these societies from available data. Were there ongoing power-struggles between the BSS and NSS? Was the membership of these two societies affected as both groups vied for supremacy? Were the NSS and BSS perhaps superseded by the formation of new clubs in other areas? Such questions cannot be answered on the basis of existing evidence. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the various developments that occurred under the auspices of the NSS and BSS were indicative of an initial trend towards greater organization within the emerging sport of swimming. Indeed, the interweaving processes that have been examined above were important in the long-term development of swimming as a modern competitive sport, as increasing numbers of societies, clubs and associations were established throughout England during the course of the nineteenth century.

6.3 Increasing Diversity in Competition-Based Swimming, c.1840s-1860s

There was a gradual trend towards greater variation in the types of swimming contests that took place and the range of people and organizations who arranged such events in the period 1840s-1860s. The formation of societies, clubs and associations was integral to such developments. However, there were various interweaving processes that

contributed to lengthening chains of interdependence amongst different emergent groups within the swimming-based network during these periods. These gradual trends towards lengthening chains of interdependence will first be examined. Consideration will then turn to explaining the manner in which the emergence of a more complex swimming-based network contributed to the incipient modernization of competition-based forms of swimming during these periods.

6.3.1 The Increasing Provision of Public Baths

Some private individuals and companies had built baths facilities in a few towns and cities during the earlier decades of the nineteenth century. It was only following the *Public Baths and Washhouses Act, 1846* that local authorities increasingly sought to provide public baths (Gordon and Inglis, 2009; Love, 2007b; Parker, 2000). This Act was intended to facilitate the provision of bathing facilities that included individual baths for personal bathing as well as plunge pools that were large enough for groups of people to bathe together (Gordon and Inglis, 2009). It was only following an amendment to this Act in 1878 that formal permission was technically granted for local authorities to provide larger indoor swimming baths. However, Gordon and Inglis (2009, p.52) have argued that ‘this made no practical difference’ other than to ‘bring the legislation into line with existing practice’. Increasing numbers of public baths had gradually been built in towns and cities throughout the country under the terms of the 1846 Act and, in many instances, the plunge baths within such facilities had effectively been large enough for swimming to take place (Gordon and Inglis, 2009). This trend towards the provision of public baths appears to have been particularly evident in London. Members of the London Swimming Club published a list of the available swimming and bathing facilities within the capital in 1861 (see table 6.2).

Table 6.2: Swimming and Bathing Locations in London, 1861

Swimming Places in and Near the Metropolis			
<i>Location</i>	<i>Type of Location</i>	<i>Length (Ft)</i>	<i>Width (Ft)</i>
Addington Baths	Two Open-Air Baths	Not Stated	Not Stated
Peerless Pool	Open-Air Bath	175	135
Serpentine	River	Not Stated	Not Stated
Sion Park	Bathing Pond	Not Stated	Not Stated
Thames	River	Not Stated	Not Stated
Victoria Park	Lake	Not Stated	Not Stated
Covered Tepid Baths			
<i>Establishment</i>	<i>Classification of Bath(s)</i>	<i>Length (Ft)</i>	<i>Width (Ft)</i>
Albion Bath	Not Stated	80	Not Stated
Bloomsbury Baths	1 st Class	Not Stated	Not Stated
	2 nd Class	Not Stated	Not Stated
Lambeth Baths	1 st Class	122	45
	2 nd Class	Not Stated	Not Stated
Marylebone Baths	1 st Class	46	24
	2 nd Class	34	28
	3 rd Class	38	34
Metropolitan Baths	Large Tepid Bath	100	Not Stated
St. George's, Davies Street	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
St. George's, Pimlico	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
The 'North London'	Not Stated	50	35
The 'Wenlock'	2 nd Class	180	Not Stated

Source: London Swimming Club (1861)

It is evident from these data that there were at least nine indoor public baths establishments in London in the early 1860s.³ Another list of swimming and bathing facilities in London was published nine years later (see table 6.3).

³ The opening dates of these facilities were not available within contemporary data. It is evident from existing research that two of these covered baths – the Metropolitan and Wenlock – had been built prior to the 1846 Act (Gordon and Inglis, 2009). There were at least three facilities – Bloomsbury, Davies Street and Marylebone – that had subsequently been built under the jurisdiction of this Act (Gordon and Inglis, 2009).

Table 6.3: Swimming and Bathing Locations in London, 1870

Lakes/Rivers			
<i>Location</i>	<i>Type of Location</i>	<i>Length (Yds)</i>	<i>Width (Yds)</i>
Serpentine	Lake	Not Stated	Not Stated
Thames	River	Not Stated	Not Stated
Victoria Park	Two Lakes	Both c.300	Not Stated
Cold Baths (Open-Air)			
<i>Establishment</i>	<i>Classification of Bath(s)</i>	<i>Length (Yds)</i>	<i>Width (Yds)</i>
Peerless Pool	Not Stated	50	30
Cold Plunge Baths (Indoor)			
<i>Establishment</i>	<i>Classification of Bath(s)</i>	<i>Length (Yds)</i>	<i>Width (Yds)</i>
Camden Swimming Bath	Not Stated	20	5
Coldbath, Clerkenwell	Not Stated	7	7
Old Roman Bath	'Cellar Bath'	3	1 ½
	'Modern Bath'	4	2 ½
Old Royal Bath	Not Stated	7	3
Tepid Baths (Indoor)			
<i>Swimming Bath</i>	<i>Classification of Bath(s)</i>	<i>Length (Yds)</i>	<i>Width (Yds)</i>
Albany	Not Stated	17	12
Alexandra	Not Stated	18	8
Bermondsey	Not Stated	13	9
Bloomsbury (St. Giles' and St. George's)	1 st Class	12	c.8-10
	2 nd Class	Not Stated	Not Stated
City of London	1 st Class	30	11
	2 nd Class	Not Stated	Not Stated
Greenwich	1 st Class	17	6
	2 nd Class	Not Stated	Not Stated
Hammersmith	1 st Class on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. 2 nd Class on all other days.	20	7
Kensington	Not Stated	10	7
Lambeth	1 st Class	41	15
	2 nd Class	38	17
Marylebone	1 st Class	15	8
	2 nd Class	23	Not Stated
	3 rd Class	23	Not Stated
Metropolitan	Not Stated	33	11
	Not Stated	16	9
North London	1 st Class	18	7
	2 nd Class	Not Stated	Not Stated
Poplar	1 st Class	c.15	c.9
	2 nd Class	c.15	c.9
Royal York	Gents Bath	22	7
	Ladies Bath	10	7
St. George's, Davies Street	1 st Class on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. 2 nd Class on all other days.	14	8
St. George's, Buckingham Palace Road	1 st Class on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. 2 nd Class on all other days.	20	8
St. James'	Not Stated	13	9
St. Margaret's and St. John's	1 st Class	12	10
	2 nd Class	15	20
St. Pancras	1 st Class	19	8
	2 nd Class	19	8
Tower Hamlets	1 st Class	23	10
	2 nd Class	23	10
Wenlock	2 nd Class	60	10

Source: Dudgeon (1870)

There appears to have been a notable increase in the number of indoor public baths that were operating in London during these periods, with 25 indoor bathing establishments now listed.⁴ The increasing provision of public baths from the mid-1840s was indicative of the early stages of a long-term trend towards the ‘indoorisation’ of swimming and bathing (van Bottenburg and Salome, 2010, p.144). Such developments can be explained in relation to wider civilizing processes. It is evident that provision was made to segregate people from different social backgrounds in first, second and third class baths within such facilities. However, various authors have argued that the increasing provision of public baths and washhouses within towns and cities throughout England was predicated largely upon a growing concern amongst members of the upper and middle classes for the health and well-being of those from the lower echelons of society (Gordon and Inglis, 2009; Love, 2007i; Parker, 2000). Such authors have argued that many members of the lower classes lived in rather unsanitary conditions in the rapidly industrializing towns and cities of England. This increasing concern for the welfare of others is indicative of the same long-term civilizing trends towards lengthening chains of interdependence and a lowering in the threshold of repugnance that have been examined within this and the preceding chapter. Yet there were several additional civilizing trends that contributed to the increasing provision of such facilities. Many men continued to bathe naked in open outdoor locations during the early-to-mid nineteenth centuries. The provision of indoor baths was also indicative of an increasing desire to conceal instances of open-nudity away from the general public whilst people were swimming and bathing (Cock, 2006, 2008). In accordance with the gradual trend towards a lowering in the threshold of repugnance (Elias, 2000), it might be speculated that the provision of such facilities was also based upon an increasing desire to provide safer and more controllable locations for swimming and bathing to take place. Ongoing technological developments also underpinned the provision of public baths from the mid-1840s (Gordon and Inglis, 2009). It was noted in the previous chapter that the gradual trend towards more rational and scientific forms of thought throughout the period between the Middle-Ages and the early twentieth century was also indicative of wider civilizing trends (Elias, 1987, 2000).

⁴ At least another five of these public baths – Bermondsey, Greenwich, Poplar, St. James’, and St. Margaret’s and St. John’s – had also been built under the jurisdiction of the 1846 Act (Gordon and Inglis, 2009).

6.3.2 Societies, Clubs and Associations

One of the unintended consequences of the provision of public baths was in affording an opportunity for people and groups who organized swimming-based competitions to utilize such facilities for their events. It is evident from the preceding tables that public baths were not constructed to a standard specification and that there was often considerable variation in the dimensions of such facilities. Nevertheless, many public baths were large enough for people to swim as well as bathe. There is evidence that increasing numbers of swimming societies, clubs and associations were established in England in the period 1830s-1860s and that some of these organizations exploited the increasing provision of public baths in order to arrange and promote their competitive events. Other authors have briefly indicated that a few particular swimming clubs had been established during these periods. However, the following list of organizations, and the locations in which they had been known to hold their competitive events, is more extensive and comprehensive than has hitherto been provided (see table 6.4). This provides an important basis to demonstrate that there was a gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence within the swimming-based network as larger numbers of swimming organizations were gradually established during these periods.

The objectives underpinning the formation of swimming societies, clubs and associations were not always outlined within contemporary sources. There is evidence that the objectives for some such groups had been to facilitate the learning and teaching of swimming and to encourage people to become more proficient by offering prizes for competition (*The Era*, 13 July 1845; London Swimming Club, 1861; *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 31 October 1868, p.9; *Liverpool Mercury*, 29 August 1861). The emergence of growing numbers of swimming organizations can, therefore, be explained in relation to the same interweaving processes that underpinned the emergence of the NSS and BSS: (a) people enjoyed the relative freedom to form groups of their own choosing; (b) an increasing proportion of the population were working and living in closer proximity to water; (c) people were demonstrating increasing levels of concern regarding issues of health, safety and welfare; and (d) people were increasingly expected to enjoy heightened levels of tension-excitement within a more controlled and 'acceptable' social context.

Table 6.4: Known Venues for Competitive Events held by Swimming Societies, Clubs and Associations in England, c.1830s-1860s

	Society, Club or Association (Year Founded, If Known)	Known Venues for Swimming-Based Competitions
1830s/1840s	National Swimming Society	Serpentine, Hyde Park, London
1840s	Bristol Swimming Society	River Avon, Bristol
	British Swimming Society (1841)	National Baths, Holborn, London
		Serpentine, Hyde Park, London
	Holborn Baths SC (1844)	National Baths, Holborn, London
	Newcastle and Gateshead SC	Northumberland St. Baths, Newcastle
	Oxford Swimming Society (1840)	River, Kennington Ranch, Oxford
	Serpentine Bathing Club (1846)	Serpentine, Hyde Park, London
Surrey SC (1845)	National Baths, Westminster, London	
1850s	National Philanthropic Swimming Society (1858)	Serpentine, Hyde Park, London
1850s/1860s	Bloomsbury ASC, later known as the Leander SC	Endell St. Baths, Bloomsbury, London
		Lambeth Baths, London
	London SC (1859)	Endell St. Baths, Bloomsbury, London
		Lambeth Baths, London
		Metropolitan Baths, London
		River Thames, London
		Serpentine, Hyde Park, London
Wenlock Baths, London		
1860s	Alliance SC (1865)	City of London Baths, London
		Lower Heath, Hampstead, London
		Metropolitan Baths, London
		Serpentine, Hyde Park, London
	Amateur SC (1868)	Serpentine, Hyde Park, London
	Belgravia SC	St. George's Baths, Pimlico, London
	Birmingham ASC	Kent St. Baths, Birmingham
	Bradford ASC	Corporation Baths, Bradford
	Brighton SC	In the Sea, Brighton
	Diamond Club	River Wear, Spa Well, Sunderland
	East London SC	Victoria Park Bathing Lake, London
	Everton Swimming Association (1863)	Corporation Baths, Margaret St., Liverpool
	First Surrey Rifles SC (1867)	Lambeth Baths, London
		Peerless Pool, London
	German Gymnastic Society SC (1866)	Lambeth Baths, London
		Metropolitan Baths, London
		River Thames, London
		Serpentine, Hyde Park, London
	Great Yarmouth Swimming Association	In the Sea, Great Yarmouth
	Halifax SC (1867)	Corporation Baths, Halifax
	Huddersfield ASC	Lockwood Baths, Huddersfield
	Hull SC	Timber Pond, Victoria Dock, Hull
	Hyde Park SC (1868)	Serpentine, Hyde Park, London
	Ilex SC (1860)	River Thames, London
		Lambeth Baths, London
		Mortlake, London
	Leeds ASC (1866)	Cookridge St. Baths, Leeds
	Liverpool Swimming Association (1860)	Cornwallis St. Baths, Liverpool
	Manchester SC	Mayfield Baths, Manchester

Manchester Gentlemen Amateur SC	Leaf St. Baths, Manchester
National SC	Serpentine, Hyde Park, London
	St. George's Baths, Davies St., London
	St. George's Baths, Pimlico, London
Nelson SC	St. George's Baths, Davies St., London
Newcastle SC (1863)	Northumberland St. Baths, Newcastle
North London SC	The Pond, Lower Heath, Hampstead, London
	St. Pancras Baths, Camden Town, London
Penzance Swimming Association (1864)	Mount's Bay, Penzance
Plymouth Bathing & Swimming Association	The Sound, under the Hoe, Plymouth
Regent SC (1868)	Serpentine, Hyde Park, London
	The Pond, Lower Heath, Hampstead, London
Serpentine SC	Serpentine, Hyde Park, London
St. Pancras SC (1868)	Serpentine, Hyde Park, London
	St. Pancras Baths, Camden Town, London
Tower Hamlets SC (1866)	River Thames, London
	Tower Hamlets Baths, London
Truro Bathing & Swimming Association	River Fal, outside Truro, Cornwall
Tynemouth SC	Priors Haven, Tynemouth
West London SC	Serpentine, Hyde Park, London
	St. George's Baths, Pimlico, London
York SC	River Ouse, York

Sources: *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle* (19 July 1840; 6 September 1846, p.7; 4 July 1847, p.8; 1 May 1859, p.6; 25 September 1859, p.6; 23 October 1859, p.7; 29 July 1860, p.6; 19 August 1860, p.6; 30 September 1860, p.6; 12 May 1861, p.7; 8 September 1861, p.7; 10 November 1861, p.6; 19 August 1865, p.6; 9 September 1865, p.3; 21 October 1865, p.9; 18 November 1865, p.6; 10 March 1866, p.6; 21 July 1866, p.7; 4 August 1866, p.7; 11 August 1866, p.2; 1 September 1866, p.7; 8 September 1866, p.10; 6 April 1867, p.7; 18 May 1867, p.9; 15 June 1867, p.7; 29 June 1867, p.10; 27 July 1867, p.10; 10 August 1867, p.10; 24 August 1867, p.10; 21 September 1867, p.10; 5 October 1867, p.10; 2 November 1867, p.9; 14 December 1867, p.7; 2 May 1868, p.9; 23 May 1868, p.9; 20 June 1868, p.10; 1 August 1868, p.10; 22 August 1868, p.7 and p.10; 29 August 1868, p.10; 9 January 1869, p.2; 29 October 1870, p.4); *Boys of England: A Young Gentleman's Journal of Sport, Sensation, Fun and Instruction* (19 October 1867, p.350); *Bradford Observer* (1 November 1866, p.5); *Bristol Mercury* (21 August 1841); *Daily News* (8 July 1846; 24 September 1866); *Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser* (5 October 1867, p.7); *Hull Packet and East Riding Times* (10 August 1866); *Ipswich Journal* (29 July 1865); *Jackson's Oxford Journal* (22 August 1840; 29 August 1840); *Leeds Mercury* (15 August 1866; 5 September 1866; 1 February 1867; 2 May 1867; 7 October 1868); *Liverpool Mercury* (19 June 1860; 2 October 1863); London Swimming Club (1861); *Manchester Times* (15 August 1868); *Newcastle Courant* (28 July 1848; 1 September 1848); *Royal Cornwall Gazette, Falmouth Packet, and General Advertiser* (11 August 1865, p.3); *Sporting Gazette* (18 July 1868, p.659); *The Era* (19 September 1841; 11 September 1842; 18 September 1842; 23 July 1843; 13 July 1845; 28 September 1845; 4 July 1847; 19 June 1859; 9 June 1861; 22 July 1866); *The Morning Post* (21 August 1838; 18 September 1841, p.5; 14 August 1844; 25 September 1845, p.5; 8 August 1865, p.3); *The Standard* (21 August 1841; 20 September 1841; 27 June 1868, p.6; 8 September 1868, p.6); *The Times* (18 September 1841, p.7; 6 September 1843, p.3).

Many of the earliest societies, clubs and associations did not survive for long periods. Both the NSS and BSS had been relatively short-lived. Members of the London Swimming Club (1861) also reported that several clubs in the capital had recently ceased to exist. Nevertheless, it is evident that swimming organizations continued to be established throughout this period. Indeed, some contemporary authors argued that an increasingly complex network of organizations was emerging within England by the mid-to-late 1860s (*Sporting Gazette*, 1 February 1868, p.79). It is evident from the previous table that many organizations had continued to hold some or all of their competitive events in natural outdoor locations. But there was a gradual trend towards some organizations utilizing public baths for their competitive events. In particular, this was evident amongst organizations that had been established in the major industrial and mill-town regions of London, the Midlands, West Yorkshire, the North-West and the North-East of England. The availability of public baths within such locations is further indicative of a civilizing trend towards greater concern amongst members of the upper and middle classes for the welfare of those from a lower social background in many emerging industrial areas. But it cannot be assumed that public baths were always utilized for competitive events when such facilities were available. The use of public baths enabled organizers to offer a confined and relatively safe course for competitors as well as a means to negate the impact of natural factors such as tides, currents and weather conditions upon the outcome of an event. However, there was also a perception amongst some people that more significant and prestigious club events should continue to be held in traditional outdoor locations in order to permit larger numbers of spectators to watch ‘the sport’ of swimming (*Sporting Gazette*, 1 August 1868, p.709). It is interesting that some people were beginning to describe swimming as a sport during this period. Perhaps some people also considered the more testing conditions within outdoor locations to be an integral aspect of the challenge within the emerging sport of swimming? For whatever reasons, many of the organizations that were beginning to utilize public baths also continued to hold some of their contests in natural outdoor locations throughout the period 1840s-1860s. In other words, this trend towards the indoorization of competitive events took place on a gradual basis. Indeed, it will be shown in subsequent chapters that this process of indoorization continued throughout the nineteenth and into the early twentieth centuries.

6.3.3 Emerging Notions of Amateurism and Professionalism

There is no evidence to indicate that an amateur/professional distinction had been drawn between those who participated in swimming-based competitions prior to the 1840s. The emergence of a distinction between amateur and professional swimmers was also indicative of a gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence within the swimming-based network during the period 1840s-1860s. However, this distinction was loosely defined and such notions were construed, at times, in a rather ambiguous and arbitrary manner.

Many of the earliest professional swimmers worked within the growing network of public baths. Such individuals earned a living directly from the activity of swimming. For example, it was relatively common for professional swimmers to offer swimming instruction to people who attended the baths and many professionals also held entertainments and annual benefits in order to increase their income (see, for example, *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 12 September 1847, p.6; 3 September 1848, p.8; 15 August 1858, p.7; 20 May 1860, p.8; 28 April 1861, p.6; 20 July 1862, p.7; 5 July 1863, p.3; 2 June 1866, p.7; 8 September 1866, p.10; 6 October 1866, p.8-9; 27 October 1866, p.6 and p.10; 10 November 1866, p.2; 27 July 1867, p.10; 10 August 1867, p.10; 31 August 1867, p.2; 7 September 1867, p.10; 21 September 1867, p.10; 5 October 1867, p.10; 29 August 1868, p.10; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 29 June 1860; *Liverpool Mercury*, 30 November 1866; *Newcastle Courant*, 1 September 1848; *The Era*, 18 September 1842; 29 September 1844; 2 August 1846; 22 July 1866). These entertainments and benefits often included a series of races as well as demonstrations of certain techniques or feats within the water. Professional swimmers organized these events and determined the races that were included in the programme. Prizes were often offered in order to encourage people to enter and such events were advertized in newspapers in order to encourage people to attend (see, for example, *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 8 August 1858, p.1; 26 May 1866, p.7; 8 September 1866, p.10; 6 October 1866, p.8).

It was also from the 1840s that some people began to refer to the notion of amateurism in relation to the emerging sport of swimming (see *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 29 August 1847, p.7; 2 July 1848, p.8; *Bristol Mercury*, 21 August 1841; *Newcastle Courant*, 10 August 1849; *The Era*, 4 July 1847). By the late 1860s, descriptions of amateur swimming often focussed predominantly upon the activities of

many contemporary swimming clubs (see, for example, *Sporting Gazette*, 18 January 1868, p.49). Indeed, the members of some contemporary swimming clubs in Birmingham, Bradford, Huddersfield, Leeds, London and Manchester had chosen to incorporate the terms 'amateur' or 'gentleman amateur' in their title (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 25 September 1859, p.6; 12 May 1861, p.7; 8 September 1861, p.7; *Bradford Observer*, 1 November 1866, p.5; *Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, 5 October 1867, p.7; *Leeds Mercury*, 15 August 1866; 5 September 1866; *The Standard*, 8 September 1868, p.6).

The emerging notions of amateurism and professionalism appear to have been based upon somewhat arbitrary distinctions. Some people argued that amateur status should be dependent upon the fact that an individual did not compete for money and did not receive remuneration for teaching swimming. For example, in one letter to *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle* (19 August 1865, p.6) it was argued that:

We have a Two Mile Champion of Thames Swimming Cup (now held by young Gurr), which of course is considered (as the holder is obliged to swim for money as well) purely a professional trophy. Now, Mr Editor, cannot you, through your journal, wake up swimmers to establish a similar prize, open to amateurs only. By amateurs I mean men who have never competed for money in any shape or form, or received money from teaching the art.

Yet this distinction was not universal. There are examples of individuals who claimed to be amateurs, but also competed for money (see, for example, *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 9 September 1865, p.3; 30 September 1865, p.7; 27 July 1867, p.10; *Leeds Mercury*, 14 July 1849; *Morning Post*, 10 August 1868, p.6). There are also instances in which cash prizes had been offered for the winners of certain amateur events and/or the entrance fees for an amateur event had subsequently been divided between the competitors (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 23 June 1866, p.2; 28 July 1866, p.7; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 July 1866; *Sporting Gazette*, 25 July 1863, p.611; *The Standard*, 15 July 1863, p.6; 30 July 1864, p.3). The fact that some amateurs can be shown to have competed for cash prizes and to have received cash, at times, from the proceeds of an event is important in indicating that the contemporary distinction between amateur and professional swimmers was not a clear-cut dichotomy between those who earned cash from swimming and those who did not. In other words, it would

seem that some people still deemed it to be acceptable for amateurs to receive cash prizes. Given that many professional swimmers were those individuals who worked in the emerging network of public baths, it would seem that the ‘professionals’ that were increasingly excluded from designated amateur events were those for whom ‘swimming’ was their full time occupation.

In order to understand the processes underpinning this emerging amateur/professional distinction it is important to consider the changing power-relations between members of different social groups within England in the period between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries (Dunning and Sheard, 2005). The process of industrialization that took place during these periods was indicative of an ongoing trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence within and throughout the wider social network. Such developments contributed towards greater interdependence and a gradual shift in the balance of power between the upper classes and emerging middle class industrialists. In other words, there was a gradual shift towards greater power-chances for members of the emerging middle classes. This was indicative of ‘a process of *embourgeoisement*’ (Dunning and Sheard, 2005, p.58; original emphasis). By the mid-nineteenth century, this shifting balance of power had contributed to the relative equalization of power-chances between the middle and upper classes (Dunning and Sheard, 2005). Within this emerging social context, there were increasing tensions between the members of different social classes. In particular, members of the upper and middle classes increasingly sought to distance themselves from individuals of a lower social background within many emerging sports (Dunning and Sheard, 2005). The labelling of those individuals who worked within baths facilities as professional swimmers is perhaps indicative of such tensions and an attempt to distinguish such individuals as members of the lower classes. For example, Huggins (2004, p.52) has argued that the emergence of an amateur/professional distinction within many contemporary sports ‘was a middle-class way of marking social difference, confirming class boundaries, controlling property, organisations and membership and asserting power... By the 1830s “professional” referred to individuals of lower social status earning money from sport’. Meanwhile, the notion of amateurism was increasingly used in order to denote middle class competitors within many emerging sports (Huggins, 2004). In other words, the main distinction between amateurs and professionals during these periods often related to the social background of competitors. The emergence of ‘amateur’ swimming clubs might, therefore, indicate that such groups drew their membership predominantly

from the middle classes. Indeed, one contemporary author argued that the London Swimming Club 'perhaps more than any other... has created an enthusiasm for this art throughout the middle classes' (*Sporting Gazette*, 18 January 1868, p.49). In this manner, it would seem that the emergence of an amateur/professional distinction within the emerging sport of swimming was based predominantly upon increasing class tensions in accordance with processes of embourgeoisement within and throughout the wider social network.

Despite increasing class tensions and the growing tendency to distinguish between amateur and professional swimmers, it does not seem to have been deemed necessary for such groups to be segregated within the emerging sport of swimming. Some contemporary clubs were known to have amateur and professional members (*Daily News*, 4 April 1865). Although it does not appear to have been a common occurrence, some swimming clubs had also been known to arrange races for professional swimmers (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 20 July 1862, p.7; 11 June 1864, p.1; *The Era*, 11 September 1864; *The Times*, 17 June 1863, p.12). There were various instances in which professional swimmers had been appointed as instructors to amateur clubs (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 8 September, 1861, p.7; 3 November 1866, p.2; 7 September 1867, p.10; *Leeds Mercury*, 15 August 1866). There were also instances in which amateur and professional competitors took part in the same races (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 20 May 1865, p.7; *Daily News*, 4 April 1865; *Sporting Gazette*, 18 January 1868, p.49). The emergence of amateur and professional swimmers was thus indicative of lengthening chains of interdependence between the members of different groups. Such developments underpinned the emergence of an increasingly complex swimming-based network. It will be argued that these trends towards lengthening chains of interdependence facilitated the emergence of more complex and varied competitions during these periods.

6.4 Swimming-Based Competitions, c.1840s-1860s

It was argued in the previous chapter that swimming-based wagers had traditionally taken place at a relatively low level of organization in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The terms for such events had often been arranged through a process of negotiation between two or more individuals. Such wagers continued to take place throughout the period 1840s-1860s. In particular, many professionals such as Beckwith, Gurr, Hounslow, Kenworthy, Pamplin, Pewters and Poulton had been known

to challenge and compete against others for the terms of a cash wager (see *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 7 September 1845; 18 April 1847, p.6; 30 July 1848, p.3; 3 September 1848, p.8; 14 July 1850, p.8; 29 June 1851, p.8; 8 July 1865, p.7; 29 August 1868, p.10; *Caledonian Mercury*, 17 July 1866; *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 3 September 1842; *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 14 July 1850; 18 September 1859; *Morning Chronicle*, 25 September 1857; *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, 20 July 1866, p.7; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 3 July 1865; *The Era*, 8 September 1844; 30 August 1846; 26 August 1866; *The Standard*, 6 September 1842). Such events continued to take place at a relatively low level of organization in the form of an initial challenge and then the negotiation of terms between two or more individuals. However, there was a gradual trend towards the use of the press as a more formal method of arranging events and negotiating terms. In this manner, it became more common for the terms underpinning such wagers to be written down and then signed by competitors in the form of written articles detailing the agreement that had been reached (see *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 29 July 1860, p.6; 28 April 1861, p.6; 8 July 1865, p.7; 10 March 1866, p.11; 26 May 1866, p.7; 23 June 1866, p.2; 21 July 1866, p.7; 4 August 1866, p.7; 1 September 1866, p.7; 29 June 1867, p.10; 8 August 1868, p.6; 29 August 1868, p.10).

The increasing tendency for the terms underpinning swimming-based wagers to be written down was indicative of a trend towards greater organization in comparison to previous eras when wagers had typically been arranged as an unwritten agreement between two or more individuals. But even though the rules for such wagers were increasingly committed to writing, these wagers continued to be arranged through a process of direct negotiation between two or more competitors. Such events had continued to take place throughout these periods. But there were also notable developments towards greater organization within the emerging sport of swimming within many of the other events that were beginning to take place during these periods. In particular, increasing numbers of events took place at a higher level of organization under the auspices of the emerging network of societies, clubs and associations and in the entertainments and benefits that were organized by professional swimmers. Such developments contributed to a concomitant trend towards greater variety in the type of competitive events that took place. It will be argued that this trend towards the emergence of a wider range of competitive events was indicative of a process that Elias (2000, p.382) described as one of 'diminishing contrasts, increasing varieties'. In

particular, it will be argued that such processes contributed to the emergence of the first breaststroke and back swimming races during these periods.

6.4.1 Increasing Variety in Swimming-Based Competitions

The gradual trend towards more varied and organized swimming-based competitions was underpinned by lengthening chains of interdependence within the swimming-based network in the period 1840s-1860s. In particular, this trend towards greater variation was evident in relation to the range of events that were organized under the jurisdiction of the emerging network of swimming clubs, societies and associations. A distinction was often drawn between internal club events that were restricted to members and 'open events' that non-members were also permitted to enter. Open events and races for the captaincy of a club were deemed to be some of the most important and prestigious club events of the season (see *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 29 June 1867, p.10; *Sporting Gazette*, 1 August 1868, p.709). Captaincy races are a good example of an internal club event. In many instances, club members were also classified internally on the basis of their ability. The committee members of each individual club determined the standards that had to be met in order for their swimmers to attain a particular level or classification (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 14 April 1866, p.8; 3 November 1866, p.2; 25 May 1867, p.6). Some internal club races during the season were then restricted to members who had been classified at a particular level (see, for example, *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 27 July 1867, p.10; 2 May 1868, p.9; 23 May 1868, p.9). Other events could be held as internal club races or open events. For example, a common approach when organizing races during these periods was to restrict the type of competitors who were permitted to enter certain events on the basis of their age (see, for example, *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 28 July 1866, p.7; 29 August 1868, p.7). Another approach was to organize races in the form of a handicap in which the start of a race was staggered so that slower competitors were afforded a start over their faster rivals (see, for example, *Sporting Gazette*, 18 July 1868, p.659).⁵ It was noted in the previous section of this chapter that some club events had been restricted to amateur competitors during these periods. Similarly, it was noted that some clubs had occasionally been known to arrange races for professional swimmers to

⁵ The process of handicapping was not always straightforward. There were instances in which difficulties in determining the relative speeds of different competitors had contributed to easy victories for certain competitors rather than a close and exciting finish (see, for example, *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 1 August 1868, p.10; London Swimming Club, 1861). Nevertheless, it was noted that handicap races were 'becoming very popular' within the emerging sport of swimming during these periods (*Sporting Gazette*, 18 January 1868, p.49).

enter. Furthermore, some organizations held ‘clothes races’ and ‘steeple-chase’ events in which competitors negotiated poles or hurdles during a race (*Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 23 May 1868, p.9; *Liverpool Mercury*, 26 April 1867). Other competitive events occasionally included ornamental swimming, plunging the farthest distance from the bank or side, diving for eggs and ‘duck hunts’ in which competitors attempted to catch a live duck or a man who played the role of ‘duck’ (*Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 23 October 1859, p.7; 22 August 1868, p.10; *Leeds Mercury*, 7 October 1868; *Liverpool Mercury*, 26 April 1867; *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, 11 November 1864, p.8).

It was not only amongst many emerging swimming organizations that a more diverse range of competitive events was taking place in the period 1840s-1860s. There was also a gradual trend towards more varied contests in the programmes of events within the benefits and entertainments that professional swimmers organized during these periods. These events took place within the baths in which the professional swimmer was employed. The programme of events sometimes included races that were restricted to youths, amateurs or professionals respectively as well as open events that anybody was permitted to enter. Additional activities such as ‘duck hunts’, diving for eggs and displays or demonstrations of different aquatic feats also tended to be included on such occasions (see, for example, *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 8 August 1858, p.1; 26 May 1866, p.7; 8 September 1866, p.10; 6 October 1866, p.8).

These trends towards greater diversity in the types of swimming-based competitions that took place during these periods can be explained in relation to various interweaving processes. Elias (2000, p.386; original emphasis) argued that in accordance with long-term civilizing processes:

standards are spreading downwards and occasionally even upwards from below... and fusing to form new unique entities, new varieties of civilized conduct. *The contrasts in conduct between the upper and lower groups are reduced with the spread of civilization; the varieties or nuances of civilized conduct are increased.*

It was argued in the previous chapter that the gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence within and throughout the wider social network had contributed to the emergence of swimming-based wagers. In particular, such developments were

related to a long-term lowering in the threshold of repugnance and a concomitant trend towards engagement in activities that enabled people to experience greater levels of tension and excitement in a more controlled and ‘civilized’ manner. In accordance with lengthening chains of interdependence within the swimming-based network throughout the period 1840s-1860s, there was a concomitant trend towards diminishing contrasts as growing numbers of people and groups began to engage in competition-based forms of swimming across England. As larger numbers of people began to compete in such activities, there was a gradual trend towards greater variation – increasing contrasts – in the types of events that took place. Given that such contests were also deemed to be a means for people to experience heightened levels of tension-excitement, the introduction of more varied events would also have been important in order to ensure that people did not start to become apathetic towards the growing numbers of events that were taking place during these periods. This trend towards diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties underpinned the emergence of an increasingly diverse range of contests in the period 1840s-1860s.

6.4.2 Breaststroke, Sidestroke and Swimming on the Back

It was noted in the previous chapter that breaststroke had been the prevailing style of swimming throughout the period between the late sixteenth century and the 1830s. It was also argued that breaststroke might have been utilized for the purpose of racing during those periods. As in previous eras, various authors continued to describe contemporary techniques for the breaststroke, sidestroke and swimming on the back throughout the period 1840s-1860s (see Anonymous, 1846; Kenworthy, 1846; London Swimming Club, 1861; Orr, 1846; Pearce, 1868, 1869; Richardson, 1857). However, there was a gradual trend from breaststroke towards the emergence of the sidestroke as the prevailing racing style amongst many competitors during these periods. Such developments occurred within the context of various interweaving social processes. It was noted in the previous chapter that ongoing processes of rationalization contributed to a tendency for some people to examine and refine existing swimming techniques in light of emerging scientific principles. Such processes continued throughout the period between the late 1830s and late 1860s and interwove with the emergence of an increasingly complex swimming-based network in which larger numbers of people were participating in competitive events. These lengthening chains of interdependence were indicative of the emergence of an increasingly complex network of power relations. With growing numbers of competitors, there were increasing opportunities for people to

compete and to enjoy the relative prestige and, in some instances, financial rewards that accompanied success. Those competitors who were capable of covering the set course at a faster pace would have enjoyed relative power over their rivals within such contests. Similarly, there were increasing opportunities for larger numbers of people to examine the techniques that other competitors were utilizing. In this manner, the emergence of an increasingly complex network of clubs and competitions also provided a more adequate basis for the diffusion of ideas relating to swimming strokes and techniques. It was within the context of these interweaving social processes that larger numbers of people began to utilize the sidestroke for the purpose of racing as this stroke gradually came to be viewed as a faster method of progression than the breaststroke (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 31 August 1867, p.9; Kenworthy, 1846; London Swimming Club, 1861). In other words, the growing desirability for faster methods of swimming and the increasing technical understanding that the sidestroke was a more efficient method of swimming contributed to a gradual transition from the breaststroke to the sidestroke as the prevailing racing style over this period.

One of the most important developments stemming from the gradual trend towards diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties was the emergence of events in which competitors were only permitted to use a designated style of swimming. The fact that various styles of swimming were known and practiced during these periods was important in facilitating the emergence of designated breaststroke and back swimming events amongst some people and groups. For example, there is evidence that some professional swimmers occasionally included races in which competitors were restricted to swimming on their back within their benefits and entertainments (see, for example, *Liverpool Mercury*, 31 October 1866). This trend was more evident amongst some of the swimming organizations of this period as some clubs started to arrange races in which competitors were only allowed to swim upon their back during the 1860s (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 20 May 1865, p.7; 27 May 1865, p.7; 9 September 1865, p.3; 21 October 1865, p.9-10; 28 July 1866, p.7; 1 September 1866, p.7; 29 September 1866, p.6; 24 August 1867, p.10; 2 May 1868, p.9; 20 June 1868, p.10; *Leeds Mercury*, 2 May 1867, 7 October 1868; *Liverpool Mercury*, 29 August 1861, 27 July 1866, 28 September 1866, 19 October 1866). In addition, the members of a few swimming clubs also arranged races in which competitors were only allowed to use the breaststroke (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 25 September 1859, p.6; *Leeds Mercury*, 2 May 1867).

There are not as many instances of breaststroke events taking place during these periods in comparison to events in which people were required to swim upon their back. This might reflect the fact that breaststroke had been the main racing style in most competitive events in earlier periods. Although the sidestroke was increasingly deemed to be the prevailing racing style in those events in which competitors were free to choose their own methods of swimming, some competitors still continued to utilize the breaststroke (see, for example, *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 31 August 1867, p.9, 27 July 1867, p.10; 21 September 1867, p.10; *Sporting Gazette*, 4 July 1868, p.599). The emergence of a few designated breaststroke events might reflect the gradual trend towards the increasing use of the sidestroke. In other words, there might have been increasing opportunities to offer separate breaststroke events as the sidestroke gained in popularity. But perhaps there was not yet the same felt need or opportunity to provide designated breaststroke events for the purpose of competition as seems to have been the case for swimming on the back? The key point is that the emergence of the first designated breaststroke and back swimming events was indicative of the broader trend towards increasing varieties in the types of competitive events that were held during these periods. Breaststroke and back swimming events remained relatively few in number. Indeed, competitors were still able to choose their own method of swimming within the overwhelming majority of competitions that were held throughout these periods. Yet the emergence of breaststroke and back swimming events would provide an initial basis for the emergence of competitive swimming as a multi-stroke discipline throughout the remaining years of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

6.4.3 Towards Greater Organization in Swimming-Based Competitions

It was argued in the previous chapter that swimming-based wagers had traditionally been arranged on a sporadic basis. However, it is evident that there was a gradual trend towards the emergence of a more structured swimming season in the period 1840s-1860s. For example, by the late 1860s the members of some societies, clubs and associations issued a calendar of events at the outset of the season and sporting newspapers were increasingly utilized as a means of advertizing upcoming events (see, for example, *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 27 July 1867, p.10; 2 May 1868, p.9; 23 May 1868, p.9). It is evident from such data that there was now a designated swimming season, with competitive events still taking place predominantly in the months of summer and autumn, despite the fact that some events were now being

held indoors. The emergence of a more structured season and the use of newspapers to advertize events were indicative of increasing levels of organization within the emerging sport of swimming. The more stable organizational structure within many clubs facilitated the emergence of fixture lists and calendars of events as well as annual events and championships. This was neither necessary nor practical when swimming-based wagers had traditionally been negotiated as one-off events between individual competitors. But the organizational 'club' structure underpinning these groups meant that there was also a more stable basis for those in positions of relative influence to plan for events to take place on set dates during the coming season and, in some instances, to stipulate that particular events would recur in the same format on future occasions. Furthermore, the fact that such events were advertized in newspapers was also indicative of the increasing tendency for the main rules underpinning such events to be outlined in advance and written down for wider publication. Some contemporary adverts included more details than others. But even in more basic lists of fixtures and calendars of events, there was an increasing tendency for event organizers to detail the type of race that was due to take place, the precise distance that would be covered and the location of the event.⁶ By the late 1860s, such trends can be demonstrated in relation to the regular lists of swimming fixtures that were included within contemporary sporting newspapers such as *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle* during the months of summer and autumn.

These emerging trends towards greater levels of organization would have been a necessary requirement in order to distinguish between different events in light of the increasing varieties of competition that took place during these periods. However, another important aspect underpinning this process was the long-term interweaving of upper class and middle class standards and principles in light of the shifting balance of power and the gradual trend towards greater interdependence between such groups during the early-to-mid nineteenth century. For example, van Bottenburg (2001, p.49) has argued that 'the ideal of sportsmanship promoted during the mid-Victorian compromise was a symbiosis of the values of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie'. It was within this emerging social context that the members of many swimming clubs also became more concerned with notions of fairness and equality between competitors.

⁶ Although there was an increasing tendency for event organizers to outline the precise distance that would be covered within competitive events, there were no standard or recognized distances during these periods. Indeed, in those instances when public baths were utilized, the precise distance of each race was dependent upon the particular dimensions of the baths that were being utilized.

Such concerns were evident in the fact that designated officials were increasingly appointed in order to oversee competitive events. There was often variation in the types of officials that were appointed by the members of different clubs. People were occasionally appointed to the positions of starter, referee, umpire, judge, timekeeper or handicapper. Again, this point is evident by the late 1860s within the many contemporary reports of swimming-based competitions that had been included in *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*. It is clear from such data that there was no formal consensus over the type or number of officials that should be appointed to oversee such events. Nevertheless, the increasing appointment of certain authority figures was indicative of an increasing concern to regulate such events in an effort to ensure that competitors abided by whatever underpinning rules had been outlined for each particular contest.

It was noted earlier in this chapter that many professional swimmers included races in the programme of events for their entertainments and annual benefits. In such instances, professional swimmers were the event organizers and tended to arrange such races at a higher level of organization than traditional swimming-based wagers. In other words, professional swimmers undertook to outline the rules and regulations for the various races that would be included within their benefits and entertainments. It has already been noted that professional swimmers advertized their entertainments and benefits within contemporary sporting newspapers. Consequently, there was an expectation that all subsequent competitors would abide by the terms that had been outlined. There was no scope for the rules to be negotiated. Again, such developments are indicative of a trend towards greater organization within the emerging sport of swimming as the terms for such events were increasingly committed to writing.

6.5 Processes of Incipient Modernization, c.1830s-1860s

Many of the developments in the types of competitive events that took place throughout the period 1830s-1860s have been explained in relation to long-term civilizing processes, including interrelated processes of industrialization and embourgeoisement. There is evidence that rules were increasingly committed to writing within swimming-based wagers, club events and the entertainments and benefits that were organized by professional swimmers. Many events were increasingly advertized in advance within the sporting press. Indeed, it is evident that lists of fixtures and calendars of events were included within some sporting newspapers by the late 1860s. There is also evidence that

designated officials were increasingly appointed to oversee competitive events. In addition, the rules underpinning many of these events were arranged at a higher level of organization than traditional swimming-based wagers and there also appears to have been a growing concern, amongst some people, to ensure greater fairness and equality between competitors. Such developments are consistent with a gradual trend towards greater levels of organization within the emerging sport of swimming. Yet such developments were still based predominantly upon an emerging swimming-based network in which the rules and regulations underpinning individual races continued to be determined locally by the organizers of individual events. Races were increasingly arranged at a higher level of organization under the jurisdiction of the committee members of particular clubs or professional swimmers for their entertainments and benefits. But the rules and regulations within such events were still based predominantly upon decisions that were made at a more local level. Consequently, rules often varied between different events and locations. In short, there was no standardized approach for organizing competitions during these periods. For this reason, the various developments that have been examined during this period were indicative of a process of incipient modernization. The processes underpinning the formation of the first NGB and the creation of the first standardized laws within the emerging sport of swimming will be examined in the next chapter.

Chapter 7: Towards the Emergence of the Amateur Swimming Association, c.1869-1886

7.1 Introduction

The emergence of a centralized NGB is important in facilitating the governance of an emerging sport beyond local level and is often intrinsically linked to the formation of the first standardized rules within such activities. Such developments are important indicators of a gradual trend towards the sportization of an activity or pastime. The aim of this chapter is to examine the processes and power-struggles that underpinned the emergence of a centralized NGB within the emerging sport of swimming. Those processes that contributed towards the emergence of an organization known as the AMSC in London in 1869 will first be examined. It will be argued that the members of this newly established Association were involved in the formation of the first standardized laws within the emerging sport of swimming and in the institution of recognized championship events. The role played by members of this Association in the emergence of a formal distinction between amateur and professional swimmers will also be examined. It will be argued that the ASA emerged as the NGB for competitive forms of swimming in accordance with these ongoing processes and power-struggles. However, there were other notable developments during this period that also require examination. In particular, there is evidence to indicate that there were ongoing developments in the types of strokes and techniques that were utilized within competitive events. Such developments will be examined in greater detail towards the latter stages of this chapter.

7.2 Towards a Swimming Congress

By the late 1860s there had been an evident trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence within the emerging sport of swimming that had included the emergence of a growing network of societies, clubs and associations and an amateur/professional distinction between competitors. Such developments were explained in the previous chapter in relation to interweaving civilizing processes, including interrelated processes of industrialization and embourgeoisement. In accordance with such developments, there had been a concomitant trend towards a growing calendar of competitive events. However, the rules and regulations underpinning such events had continued to be based predominantly upon decisions made at a local level. In other words, there remained variations in the rules and

regulations between different competitive events. By the late 1860s, there was a growing perception amongst some London clubs that it was becoming increasingly necessary for a set of standardized laws to be formulated in order to facilitate a more consistent approach to the regulation of all amateur competitions. Indeed, the following letter was published in *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle* (31 October 1868, p.9) and was signed by the representatives of five London swimming clubs:

MR EDITOR: It having been proposed by several of the members and officers of the various swimming clubs in London that a code of laws should be established to decide all questions and disputes which may arise in respect of amateur races, we herewith invite the attendance of presidents and hon secretaries of all swimming clubs at a preliminary meeting to be held at the National Club's room, Hole in the Wall, Davis-street, Berkely-square, on Monday, Nov 9.

Two meetings were subsequently held between the delegates of various London clubs on the 9 and 24 November (see *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 14 November 1868, p.10; 28 November 1868, p.7). These meetings were described as a 'congress' or 'conference' of swimming clubs. Although it was acknowledged that 'there might at present be some slight opposition to the movement' for the creation of a set of standardized laws, it was also claimed that 'there appeared to be only one out of the 14 or 15 clubs in London who doubted the advisability of establishing such a code of laws' (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 28 November 1868, p.7). Notwithstanding this, it was decided that a committee should be formed in order to devise a set of standardized laws that could be utilized within all amateur swimming contests and that each club from the London area would be entitled to appoint two representatives to sit on this committee. The laws that were formulated by the members of this committee would then be brought before another meeting in January for further discussion (see *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 28 November 1868, p.7).

7.3 The Emergence of a Centralized Governing Body

The next meeting of London swimming clubs was held on the 7 January 1869. The proposed laws that had been devised by the sub-committee were discussed, amended and ratified by the delegates during the course of this meeting. These laws will be examined in greater detail in due course. But another important decision had been taken during the course of this meeting that 'an Association, to be composed of the various

clubs in London, & having for its object the promotion & encouragement of a knowledge of the art of swimming, should at once be formed' (*ASA Minute Book No. 1: 1869-1873*, 7 January 1869). In other words, the delegates to this meeting had voted to establish a centralized governing body that would be comprised of affiliated clubs from the London area. A provisional committee was appointed during the course of this meeting in order to devise a set of constitutional rules for this newly established Association (*ASA Minute Book No. 1: 1869-1873*, 7 January 1869). The committee brought forward their proposals at a later meeting and a total of fifteen constitutional rules were eventually ratified. In particular, it was agreed that this Association would be known as the AMSC and that the members of each affiliated club would be entitled to elect three delegates to sit on the executive council (*ASA Minute Book No. 1: 1869-1873*, 11 February 1869). The title of this Association was changed on several occasions as the AMSC became known as the London Swimming Association (LSA) in 1869, the Metropolitan Swimming Association (MSA) in 1870 and the SAGB in 1873 (see *ASA Minute Book No. 1: 1869-1873*, 24 June 1869; 10 December 1870; *Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, 8 December 1873). Despite alterations to the title, it is important to emphasize that the number of affiliated clubs remained rather limited, with no clubs beyond London choosing to join the Association. Nine swimming clubs had become affiliated during the inaugural year of 1869: the Alliance, East London, London, Nautilus, North London, Regent, Serpentine, St. Pancras and West London (*ASA Minute Book No. 1: 1869-1873*, End of Year Finances 1869).

The emergence of the SAGB can be explained in relation to interweaving civilizing processes. It was noted in the previous chapter that ongoing civilizing processes had contributed to the emergence of increasing numbers of swimming clubs by the late 1860s. It was this expansion of the swimming-based network that had contributed to an increasing need for the formation of standardized rules during these periods. However, the gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence and the pacification of English society throughout the period since the Middle-Ages had also contributed to the emergence of a social context in which people and groups were able to agree upon standardized rules and regulations across increasing areas of the country (Green et al., 2005). In other words, it was in accordance with these wider social processes that centralized organizations such as the SAGB were gradually established in order to provide a basis for the formation of standardized rules and regulations within and between different areas and regions.

The number of clubs affiliated to the SAGB had remained in single figures throughout the period 1870-1876 following its formation and often numbered no more than five or six. All affiliated clubs continued to be drawn from the London area (see *ASA Minute Book No. 1: 1869-1873*, Accounts for Year Ended 1870; 9 February 1871; 14 September 1871; 12 October 1871; Accounts for 1872; *Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, Financial Statement for 1873; Financial Statement for 1874; Financial Statement 1875; Money Due to the SAGB up to 21 November 1876). The reasons for the secession of different clubs from the Association were often not provided. In one instance it was noted that the membership of the London Swimming Club had been terminated after they failed to pay money that was owed to the Association (*ASA Minute Book No. 1: 1869-1873*, 10 February 1873). Whether other clubs had also been expelled or had chosen to leave the Association for other reasons is unclear. Whatever the underpinning reasons, the limited geographical scope in membership of the SAGB would seem to indicate that the relative influence of this Association had also been somewhat limited. This can be demonstrated in relation to the number of affiliated clubs in 1873 and 1874. These two years coincide with the publication of the first periodical that was dedicated predominantly to the topic of swimming. This provides a basis to compare the number of clubs that had been affiliated to the MSA/SAGB to other non-affiliated clubs that were also known to be in existence during this period (see table 7.1).

Table 7.1: List of Clubs Affiliated to the MSA/SAGB in 1873 and 1874 in comparison to other Non-Affiliated Clubs from England referred to in the *Swimming, Rowing and Athletic Record/Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, c.1873/1874

Clubs Affiliated to the MSA/SAGB (1873)	
<i>Metropolitan Clubs</i>	<i>Provincial Clubs</i>
Alliance SC	
Middlesex County SC	
Neptune United SC	
North London SC	
Regent SC	
St. Pancras SC	
Clubs Affiliated to the SAGB (1874)	
<i>Metropolitan Clubs</i>	<i>Provincial Clubs</i>
Alliance SC	
North London SC	
Regent SC	
St. Pancras SC	
Victoria Park SC	
Examples of Non-Affiliated Clubs (c.1873/1874)	
<i>Metropolitan Clubs</i>	<i>Provincial Clubs</i>
Amateur SC	Batley SC, West Yorkshire
Atlantic SC	Bolton SC
Bartholomew SC	Everton Swimming Association, Liverpool
Carlton SC	Gentlemen's SC, Sheffield
Dolphin SC	Halifax SC
Elephant SC	Huddersfield SC
Endell-Street SC	Jersey SC
Ilex SC	Leeds SC
Lambeth SC	Liverpool SC
London SC	Newcastle SC
Naiad SC	Port of Plymouth Bathing and Swimming Association
Orion SC	Rochdale ASC
Otter SC	Sheffield ASC
Perseverance SC	Toxteth SC, Liverpool
Royal Albert SC	
Serpentine SC	
South London SC	
St. Phillip's SC	
Surbiton SC	
Thames SC	
Victoria SC	
Wenlock SC	
Zephyr SC	

Sources: *Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA* (Financial Statement for 1873; 20 April 1874; 13 July 1874; Financial Statement for 1874); *Swimming, Rowing and Athletic Record* (10 May 1873, p.1 and p.3; 17 May 1873, p.2-3); *Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events* (24 May 1873, p.2 and p.3; 31 May 1873, p.2-4; 7 June 1873, p.1 and p.3; 14 June 1873, p.1-3; 21 June 1873, p.3; 28 June 1873, p.1 and p.4; 5 July 1873, p.1; 26 July 1873, p.2; 2 August 1873, p.3; 9 August 1873, p.2-3; 30 August 1873, p.3; 6 September 1873, p.4; 13 September 1873, p.3; 20 September 1873, p.4; 4 October 1873, p.1 and p.3; 11 October 1873, p.2; 1 November 1873, p.4; 20 December 1873, p.4; 3 January 1874, p.2; 31 January 1874, p.4; 11 April 1874, p.4; 25 April 1874, p.4; 2 May 1874, p.3).

Six London clubs had been affiliated to the Association in 1873 and this had fallen to five London clubs during 1874. No provincial clubs were affiliated to the Association during this period. It cannot be claimed this is a comprehensive list of non-affiliated clubs that were operating during these periods, as it is highly unlikely that this swimming periodical would have included news relating to all contemporary swimming clubs. However, it is possible to demonstrate that at least twenty-three clubs in the London area alone were not affiliated to the Association and at least fourteen provincial clubs were known to be in existence during these periods. On this basis, it is possible to demonstrate that only a small minority of clubs were affiliated to the Association. Indeed, it is evident that affiliated clubs were in a minority within their own city. This would seem to indicate that the power-chances of the Association had been rather limited in London as well as throughout the rest of the country. Furthermore, the limited power-chances of the SAGB were also evident from the fact that this Association almost ceased to exist during the mid-1870s. There were no meetings of the Association between December 1874 and February 1875 and there were several other months during the course of 1875 in which meetings did not occur. During the course of a meeting on the 20 December 1875 it was decided 'that a special meeting [would] be held on Monday Jan 10 1876 for the purpose of discussing the future of the Association' (*Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, 20 December 1875). This meeting was held, but no further meetings took place in the following five months. It was only from July 1876 that meetings gradually started to be held on a regular basis once again. Given the limited number of affiliated clubs and the apparent lack of interest in the activities of the Association during this period, it would appear that the SAGB had been close to collapse. Indeed, it was later noted that 'for three years the Association made a retrograde movement... [but] during the past year a decided improvement and advance has been made, and the new blood infused with the management has resulted in this doubling of the number of clubs affiliated' (*Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, The Secretary's Report for the Year 1877).

Following the near demise of the SAGB in 1876, it would seem that there was a gradual increase in the number of clubs that were affiliated. The number of clubs that were affiliated to the Association in 1877 is unclear from available evidence. However, there were ten affiliated clubs at the outset of 1878. Eight of these were from the London area and the two remaining clubs were from Brighton and Portsmouth (see *Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, Clubs Forming the Association: 1878). These appear to have been the

first provincial clubs to become affiliated to the SAGB. Clubs from Birmingham, Eastbourne, Huddersfield, Jersey, Newcastle and Tyldesley also became affiliated in 1878 (see *Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, 8 April 1878; June 1878; 8 July 1878; 12 August 1878). This gradual increase in the number of provincial clubs had coincided with alterations that had been made to the constitutional rules at the outset of 1878:

IX. – The annual subscription for London clubs shall be £1 1s., and for provincial clubs 10s. 6d. (Clubs joining after June 30th, 1878, shall pay an entrance fee as follows: London clubs, 5s.; provincial clubs, 2s. 6d.) Subscriptions to be due on the 1st of January, and if not paid before July 1st the club to be expelled.

X. – Country clubs shall be allowed to vote by proxy in writing (*Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, 14 January 1878).

This was the first instance in which a distinction had been drawn between London clubs and provincial clubs within the constitutional rules of the SAGB. Prior to this point there had been an expectation that delegates would be required to attend Association meetings that were held in London in order to contribute to discussions and to vote on Association matters. Allowances were made under these new constitutional rules for the members of provincial clubs. These alterations were important in facilitating the affiliation of clubs from other areas of the country.

Despite these moves designed to make the SAGB more open to wider membership, only two years later it was evident that the Association was again close to collapse. Five delegates were required to form a quorum for SAGB meetings (see *Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, 14 January 1878). Yet it was noted within the minutes that the December meeting of 1879 had been cancelled because of insufficient attendance to form a quorum. At the opening meeting of 1880 the election of officers had taken place for the coming year (*Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, 12 January 1880). The next meeting of the Association had been due to take place in February, but was again cancelled due to poor attendance. There were no meetings of the Association during March or April. The next meeting was held in May when it was noted that there had been ‘considerable discussion as regards the affairs of the association’ (*Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, May 1880). In the annual report at the end of the year it was noted that:

The year 1880 did not open favourably for the Association, so little interest being taken in its proceedings that a quorum was not obtainable. The Association had incurred liabilities it was unable to meet, and though subscriptions, etc., were due, there seemed little prospect of the clubs paying (nor have they done so). Several clubs which had hitherto supported the Association had seceded, and it appeared probable that the Association would be an institution of the past. In May efforts were made to secure a meeting, and though poorly attended, it was decided to use efforts to recuscitate [sic] the Association. At the June meeting the Otter club joined, and it was decided to bring the association before the various Swimming Clubs, with a view to their support (*ASA/SAGB Minute Book No. 3*, Report of the Committee, 1880).

Meetings gradually began to take place on a regular basis once again as several new clubs became affiliated to the Association and a new set of officers were elected for the remaining months of the year (see *Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, June 1880; 28 June 1880; *ASA/SAGB Minute Book No. 3*, 28 June 1880). Nineteen clubs were affiliated to the Association by the end of 1880. This included nine London and ten provincial clubs (*ASA/SAGB Minute Book No. 3*, Hon. Treasurer's Financial Statement for the Year 1880). Whilst some clubs joined the SAGB in the early-to-mid 1880s, others seceded from the Association and a rival ASU was established in the period between 1884 and 1886. The emergence of the ASU will be examined in the following sections of this chapter. In spite of such developments, there was a gradual trend towards an increase in the number of clubs that were affiliated to the SAGB during this period. A total of 51 clubs had become affiliated to the Association by the time that the annual report for 1885 had been compiled. This included 20 London clubs and 31 from the provinces (see table 7.2).

Table 7.2: Clubs Affiliated to the SAGB, c.1885/1886

Metropolitan Clubs	Provincial Clubs
Alliance SC	Ashton-under-Lyne SC
Amateur SC	Birmingham SC
Amphibian SC	Birmingham Leander SC
Camden SC	Blackburn SC
Cygnus SC	Bristol Leander SC
Dreadnought SC	Burton-on-Trent SC
Greenwich SC	Colchester SC
Grosvenor SC	Defence SC, Liverpool
Hanover United SC	Dublin SC
Holloway SC	Dudley SC
Leander SC	Everton Swimming Association
North London SC	Eastbourne SC
Pacific SC	Glasgow Leander SC
Regent SC	Jersey SC
South-East London SC	Kingston Institute SC
St. Leonard's SC	Liverpool Swimming Association
"The Times" SC	Llandudno SC
Torpedo SC	Longton SC
Unity SC	Nottingham SC
Zephyr SC	Penrith SC
	Portsmouth SC
	Rochdale Dolphin SC
	Sheffield SC
	Southampton SC
	St. Mary's Institute SC, Nottinghamshire
	Swindon SC
	Tunbridge Wells Cygnus SC
	Undercliffe SC, Ventnor, Isle of Wight
	Walsall SC
	Whitehaven SC
	York (City of) SC

Source: *Minute Book No. 4 of the SAGB* (Annual Report 1885).

It is evident from these data that there had been an increase in the number and geographical spread of clubs that were affiliated to the Association. Provincial clubs were now affiliated from areas such as the South-East and South-West of England, East Anglia, the Midlands, Lancashire, Greater Manchester, Merseyside, Cumbria, Yorkshire, Jersey and the Isle of Wight. Clubs from Ireland, Scotland and Wales had also become affiliated to the Association during this period. On this basis, it is evident that there had been a gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence in the number and geographical spread of clubs that were affiliated to the Association. Such developments were indicative that the SAGB was gradually attempting to spread its influence during this period. In accordance with such developments, there was a concomitant trend

towards increasing power-chances for the SAGB. This gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence is important for understanding many of the activities, processes and power-struggles in which members of the Association were engaged during these periods.

7.4 The Emergence of Amateur Championships

One of the main tasks undertaken by the SAGB was the institution of amateur championships. The one mile amateur championship was the first such event to be established during the inaugural year of 1869. It was decided that this race would be an annual event that would be ‘open to all amateur swimmers in the United Kingdom’ and that it would be ‘conducted in strict accordance with the Laws of Amateur Swimming’ that had been laid down by the SAGB (*ASA Minute Book No. 1: 1869-1873*, 27 May 1869). It was also noted that the designated course would be ‘from Putney Aqueduct to Hammersmith Suspension Bridge’ in the River Thames (*ASA Minute Book No. 1: 1869-1873*, 27 May 1869). This rule was later altered in order to state that the distance for this event would be ‘1 mile in still water’ (*ASA Minute Book No. 1: 1869-1873*, 14 July 1873). The introduction of a standard distance for this event, rather than the use of two landmarks as reference points, was an important development towards greater accuracy within these regulations. In addition, the decision to switch this event from the River Thames to take place in still water was based upon an increasing desire to limit the impact of external factors such as tides and currents upon the outcome of this race (*Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, 26 July 1873, p.4). Additional championships were later instituted under the auspices of the SAGB during the course of the 1880s. For instance, members of the SAGB were approached by the proprietors of the *Cricket and Football Times* during 1880 who offered ‘to present a 15 Guinea Silver Challenge Cup to the Association, if the Association would be willing to undertake the management’ of this cup and offer it for competition (*ASA/SAGB Minute Book No. 3*, 9 August 1880). Members of the Association subsequently decided to institute an annual 220 Yards Amateur Championship (*ASA/SAGB Minute Book No. 3*, 9 August 1880; 13 September 1880; 12 October 1880). A trophy was also offered to the SAGB in the following year by the proprietors of *Sporting Life* on condition that it would be utilized for an annual Half-Mile Amateur Championship (*ASA/SAGB Minute Book No. 3*, 14 February 1881; 14 March 1881). Members of the SAGB accepted this offer.

The emergence of amateur championships under the auspices of a centralized governing body was an important development in a gradual trend towards the sportization of competition-based forms of swimming. Such events were promoted as national championships. The terms for such events were outlined in writing and included a precise statement of the distance that would be covered during the course of the race. Similarly, it would appear that such events were increasingly underpinned by a common set of standardized laws. The Mile Amateur Championship and 220 Yards Amateur Championship both incorporated a clause that the Laws of Amateur Swimming would be enforced within these events. The same clause was not included within the initial terms for the Half-Mile Amateur Championship. However, a resolution was later passed by members of the Association ‘that all Swimming Championships must be held under the Laws of the Swimming Association of Great Britain’ (*Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 29 August 1885, p.3). This would have included the Half-Mile Amateur Championship if the terms for this event had not already been amended prior to this point. The Laws of Amateur Swimming will be examined within the following sections of this chapter. In addition, it should be noted that all annual championship events were timed. This was not a requirement under the terms that were outlined for these events and neither was there any requirement to appoint a timekeeper nor to record the times of winning competitors under the Laws of Amateur Swimming. Whether one of the appointed umpires or judges would have been requested to time these events is unclear, but the appointment of a separate timekeeper only took place within amateur championship events from 1880 onwards (*ASA/SAGB Minute Book No. 3*, 9 August 1880; 12 October 1880). Nevertheless, it is evident that records of the winning time and the three placed competitors had been kept for each championship event since their inauguration in 1869, 1880 and 1881 respectively (see Sinclair and Henry, 1893). These surviving records are indicative of the fact that some form of record keeping was utilized during earlier periods. This process was formalized in 1880 when members of the Association passed a resolution that a ‘record book’ should be introduced (*ASA/SAGB Minute Book No. 3*, 22 November 1880; 13 December 1880). Such developments were indicative of an increasing interest in measuring, recording and comparing the performance of different competitors over time and in different locations.

Whilst the emergence of amateur championships under the auspices of a centralized governing body was an important development in a gradual trend towards the

sportization of competition-based forms of swimming, it is important to appreciate that some amateur championship events had also been instituted by the members of other clubs and organizations during these periods. In 1882 a series of amateur championships were advertised in a fixture list that was printed and distributed by members of the SAGB for the coming season. All of these events were included under the name and emblem of the SAGB and were labelled as Amateur Championship Competitions. There was no distinction within this original fixture list between the three championship events that were organized by members of the SAGB and the four championship events that were organized by the members of other clubs and organizations. This distinction has been introduced in table 7.3 in order to better indicate those championship events that were promoted by the SAGB and those that were currently being promoted by other clubs and organizations.

Table 7.3: Amateur Championship Events in 1882

SAGB Amateur Championships		
<i>Event</i>	<i>Trophy and/or Originator of Event</i>	<i>Location of Event in 1882</i>
Amateur Championship (One Mile in Still Water)	SAGB Challenge Cup	Edgbaston Reservoir, Birmingham
Half-Mile Amateur Championship	'Sporting Life' Challenge Cup	Welsh Harp, Hendon
220 Yards Amateur Championship	'Cricket and Football Times' Challenge Cup	Lambeth Baths, London
Other Amateur Championship Events		
<i>Event</i>	<i>Trophy and/or Originator of Event</i>	<i>Location of Event in 1882</i>
Long-Distance Amateur Championship (5 ¾ Miles)	Floating Bath Challenge Cup	River Thames (Putney Bridge to the Floating Bath, Charing Cross)
500 Yards Amateur Championship	North London S.C. Challenge Cup	Lambeth Baths, London
100 Yards Amateur Championship	South-East London S.C. Challenge Cup	Lambeth Baths, London
1,000 Yards Amateur Championship	Originated by Newcastle S.C.	To be held in Newcastle

Source: ASA/SAGB *Minute Book No. 3* (19 June 1882).

Whether members of the SAGB had formally recognized these other four amateur championship events is unclear. Yet the fact that such events had been included under the name and emblem of the SAGB within this fixture list from 1882 would appear to indicate that members of the SAGB were satisfied to be associated with these additional championships. Over the following years members of the SAGB gradually assumed

control over the management of most of these other championship events. For example, the Long-Distance Amateur Championship came under the auspices of the SAGB from 1885 (*Minute Book No. 4 of the SAGB*, 8 June 1885). Similarly, the 100 Yards and 500 Yards Amateur Championships both came under SAGB control in 1889 (Sinclair and Henry, 1893). Whether the 1,000 Yards Amateur Championship had ceased to exist in the intervening period is unclear, but this event was no longer referred to within lists of recognized amateur championships that were outlined in contemporary literature in the 1890s (see Sinclair and Henry, 1893). The point is that in the period between 1869 and the mid-to-late 1880s there was a gradual trend towards an increasing number of recognized amateur championship events that were organized under the control of an increasingly centralized governing body.

7.5 The Laws of Amateur Swimming

Another key task undertaken by members of the Association during these periods was to administer the Laws of Amateur Swimming that had been ratified by delegates at the Swimming Congress on the 7 January 1869 and to preside over any disputes that arose in the implementation of these laws. These are the laws that were implemented within all championship events under the auspices of the Association and that were to be utilized by the members of all affiliated clubs within their competitive events. A full version of the Laws of Amateur Swimming from this period was published in the *Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events* (22 November 1873, p.4). The earliest version to have survived within the minute books of the Association is from 1878 (*Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, 14 January 1878). Some authors have previously referred to one or both of these items during the course of their research (see Keil and Wix, 1996; Love, 2003; Parker, 2003). However, it would seem that they ignored, or were unaware, that there are also surviving copies of the inaugural Laws of Amateur Swimming from 1869 as well as revised versions of these laws from 1870 and 1872 (see *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 9 January 1869, p.2; 17 December 1870, p.12; 17 February 1872, p.4). Further alterations continued to be made to the Laws of Amateur Swimming after 1878. Some of these alterations were occasionally noted within SAGB minutes, but unfortunately there do not appear to be any surviving copies of the Laws of Amateur Swimming from the period between 1878 and the mid-1880s.

7.5.1 Laws Governing the Amateur/Professional Distinction

The emergence of standardized laws under the auspices of a centralized governing body was an important development in a gradual trend towards the sportization of competition-based forms of swimming. Two of the laws that were introduced in 1869 had been intended to facilitate the emergence of a formal distinction between amateur and professional swimmers. Love (2003) and Parker (2003) have both examined the emergence of a more formal amateur/professional distinction within the emerging sport of swimming during these periods. However, it is now possible to demonstrate that there were more alterations to these laws than has hitherto been known.

It was shown in the previous chapter that the earliest distinctions between amateur and professional swimmers had gradually emerged between the 1840s and late 1860s. These distinctions had been drawn on a relatively informal basis and had been based predominantly upon emerging class-tensions within the wider social network in light of ongoing civilizing trends and interrelated processes of industrialization and embourgeoisement (Dunning and Sheard, 2005). But the amateur status of competitors was defined in a formal manner for the first time within the inaugural Laws of Amateur Swimming at the outset of 1869:

1. Persons who have competed for money prizes, for wagers, for public or admission money, or who have otherwise made the art of swimming a means of pecuniary profit, shall not be allowed to compete as amateurs.
2. The fact of having competed with a professional for honour, or for money (if an intention is announced before starting to hand the amount of the prize if successful, to the objects of the association) shall not disqualify in competitions confined to amateurs (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 9 January 1869, p.2).

The definition of amateur status within law one was based predominantly upon the rejection of any form of monetary gain from the activity of swimming. This law remained largely unchanged until 1880. However, there were numerous alterations to the second of these laws. Under the laws of 1869 it was still permissible for amateurs to compete against professionals for honour and even for money on the condition that any cash prize would be surrendered to the Association. But this relationship between amateurs and professionals became an increasing source of tension over the following

years. Law number two was revised towards the end of 1870 in order to read that ‘the fact of having competed with a professional for honour shall not disqualify amateurs’ (*Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 17 December 1870, p.12). This law was revised again in the early months of 1872 when it was resolved that ‘the fact of having competed with a professional for a prize, such prize not being a money prize, shall not disqualify amateurs’ (*Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 17 February 1872, p.4). Amateurs were still allowed to compete against professionals under both of these revised laws. However, it is evident that amateurs were no longer allowed to compete against professionals in instances when cash prizes were on offer. A further alteration was made to this law in 1873 when it was resolved by members of the Association that ‘any amateur competing against any professional swimmer shall be disqualified from all future amateur contests’ (*ASA Minute Book No. 1: 1869-1873*, 21 April 1873). Later in the same year a competitor from Liverpool was disqualified from his status as an amateur prior to the One Mile Amateur Championship for having competed against a professional since the introduction of this new ruling (see *Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, 30 August 1873, p.2). The following comments were published in relation to this decision:

From a correspondence recently received by us great dissatisfaction appears to exist amongst the swimmers of Liverpool respecting the disqualification of J. Wilson for the above event... The Everton Association considers the law, which states that any amateur competing against a professional for a prize shall be debarred from any amateur event, too stringent, and in consequence of Wilson swimming against J.W. Birks on July 3rd he subjected himself to this unsatisfactory proceeding. We are informed that the above association most strenuously object to the admittance of professionals, and that they essentially consist of nothing but amateurs pure and simple. The association contends that there was a lack of publicity given to this “law,” which placed country swimmers in a state of ignorance respecting its existence (*Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, 6 September 1873, p.4).

It would appear that the decision to disqualify Wilson from his amateur status had been important in bringing this law to the attention of a wider audience. From correspondence within the sporting press it would seem that the Laws of Amateur Swimming had been little known outside London prior to this point. For example, one

correspondent expressed opposition to the laws relating to the amateur/professional distinction by arguing that:

It would be more satisfactory if the laws of amateur swimming were better known through your columns. If swimming against Birks constitutes a man a professional, it is difficult to know where this imperial code begins or ends. We have boys at 15 years of age in this town [Rochdale] who have swam for, and won, money; pray, does this constitute them professionals, and exclude all from contesting against amateurs, and if by mere chance some other boy should swim against them, would he be debarred from amateur competition? Such absurdities are merely contemptible, and such laws quite unworthy of being respected. Pray, what are the names of this self-constituted authority, who make laws to edge themselves round for protection from the overwhelming superiority of country amateurs, who have no ambition to be dubbed professional. Let the laws be known, and the framers of such laws also, that country bumpkins may consider whether to respect them or not; and if such laws are only applicable to the Metropolitan district, and not universal (of course, Metropolitans may make such laws as they please for self-protection), then let a geographical line be drawn, outside of which they have no power, where country men will make their own laws and interpret them, without the interference of any self-constituted hierarchy [sic] (*Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, 13 September 1873, p.2).

The amateur/professional question and the role of the Association within such matters continued to be debated within the press over the following months (see *Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, 13 September 1873, p.2 and p.4; 27 September 1873, p.4; 11 October 1873, p.3; 18 October 1873, p.2; 25 October 1873, p.4; 1 November 1873, p.4; 15 November 1873, p.2-4; 20 December 1873, p.2-3; 27 December 1873, p.3-4; 3 January 1874, p.3; 10 January 1874, p.3; 17 January 1874, p.4; 24 January 1874, p.3). The main points of debate centred on whether amateurs should be allowed to swim for money or to place side-bets upon the outcome of their events and whether amateurs should be permitted to compete against professionals. A range of opinions were expressed by different correspondents and it is evident that there was no common consensus in relation to such issues. During the final months of 1873 it was acknowledged by members of the Association that there had been notable opposition to the current laws and that they were willing to convene a meeting in order to reconsider

the relationship between amateur and professional swimmers (*Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, 22 November 1873, p.3; 6 December 1873, p.4). A meeting was duly arranged by members of the Association to take place on 19 January 1874. It is evident from subsequent reports that law number one had been discussed at length at this meeting, but had remained unaltered. However, it was reported that all of the delegates at this meeting had been fundamentally opposed to law number two that currently prevented amateurs from competing against professionals. This law was revised during the course of this meeting in order to read that 'amateurs be allowed to compete against professionals for prizes or honour only' (*Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, 24 January 1874, p.4). Both of these laws remained in place until the early 1880s.

The attempt by members of the Association to prevent amateurs from competing against professionals during the course of 1873 was indicative of class-tensions within the wider social network. Such developments can be explained in relation to ongoing processes of embourgeoisement. It was noted in the previous chapter that by the mid-nineteenth century the shifting balance of power between the middle and upper classes had resulted in the relative equalization of power-chances between these two groups. In accordance with this shifting balance of power there was a concomitant trend towards increasing class-tensions throughout the wider social network. During the second half of the nineteenth century there was an increasing tendency for members of the upper classes to distance themselves from those of a working class background. This trend reflected a growing concern amongst members of the aristocracy and gentry over their position within the social hierarchy in light of the shifting balance of power and rise of the middle classes during the course of the nineteenth century (van Bottenburg, 2001). Sport was one of the areas in which members of the upper classes increasingly sought to distance themselves from those of a working class background during the second half of the nineteenth century. Over the same period there gradually emerged a range of attitudes towards the issue of amateurism/professionalism amongst the middle classes:

The middle classes were far from monolithic; they were made up of several disparate groups. In the heavily industrialized north of England the nouveau riche, who owed their positions to success in trade and industry, acted as financiers and administrators in the professionalization of various spectator sports. In this sense they differed in attitude and orientation from the group that included bankers,

physicians, and civil servants, who became particularly influential in sports in the south of England. The latter, who had been educated at private schools (the most prestigious of which are known as “public schools”) and universities, joined forces with the old social elites at the end of the nineteenth century to resist the professionalism in sport that was being promoted in the north by the new industrialists. They continued to emphasize the ideals of amateurism and fair play and strove to distinguish their sports from those of the nouveau riche and lower classes (van Bottenburg, 2001, p.50).

In accordance with increasing class-tensions, there was a gradual trend towards the exclusion of the working classes from many of the sporting activities in which members of the upper and middle classes were dominant during the second half of the nineteenth century. For example, there was an increasing tendency for members of the working classes to be excluded from sports such as rowing and athletics from the 1860s and 1870s. This was achieved through the introduction of a formal definition of amateur status that incorporated a clause to the effect that individuals who were employed in manual working-class occupations should be defined as professionals. In many instances, this enabled working class individuals to be refused entry to the amateur clubs, societies and competitive events of the upper and middle classes solely on the basis of their occupations (see Brailsford, 1992; Huggins, 2004; Tranter, 1998; van Bottenburg, 2001). The division between amateurs and professionals was not drawn in such a stringent manner within all amateur sports and pastimes during this period, but Brailsford (1992, p.99) has argued that ‘the exclusion of the professional, excused on the twin grounds of making for equal competition and avoiding corruption, had its varying influence on all sports’.

The definition of amateur/professional status that had been adopted within the emerging sport of swimming was not as socially divisive as some of the definitions that had been implemented in activities such as athletics and rowing. There were no in-built clauses to automatically define the members of manual working-class occupations as professionals. Nevertheless, the attempt by members of the MSA/SAGB to prevent amateurs from competing against professionals during the course of the early 1870s had been symptomatic of emerging class-tensions within the wider social network. There had been an evident desire amongst members of the Association to ban all forms of competition between amateurs and professionals. However, there were several reasons

underpinning the negative response to these laws and the decision by members of the Association to revise their approach to the relationship between amateur and professional competitors. During this period the number of clubs that were affiliated to the Association had remained in single figures and was limited only to clubs from the London area. It would seem that members of the Association did not enjoy sufficient power to impose their laws throughout London or throughout the rest of the country. But this point is not sufficient, in itself, to explain the reasons underpinning the revision of these laws. In the previous chapter it was argued that amateur forms of swimming had gradually emerged amongst members of the middle classes in the period between the 1840s and late 1860s. By the late 1860s it was noted within one contemporary report that it was only recently that members of the upper classes had started to show interest in the activity of swimming (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 5 December 1868, p.2). Towards the mid-1870s some individuals continued to argue that it was regrettable that members of the upper classes were not taking greater interest in competitive forms of swimming (*Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, 21 February 1874, p.2). It would appear that amateur swimmers were drawn predominantly from the middle classes and that the social composition of this group did not include the same proportion of individuals from the upper classes as many of the other amateur activities of these periods.¹ Although emerging class-tensions were evident in the approach that was taken by members of the MSA/SAGB in their attempts to ban all forms of competition between amateurs and professionals, it would seem that the relative lack of upper class participants within the emerging sport of swimming was a limiting factor for the proponents of this ban. Amateurism was already considered to be the prevailing ethos within the emerging sport of swimming by the early 1870s (*Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, 9 August 1873, p.1; 23 August 1873, p.2). In addition, members of the middle classes were not yet experiencing the same feelings of insecurity as members of the aristocracy and gentry from ongoing processes of embourgeoisement. As such, there does not appear to have been the same level of desire amongst members of the middle classes to distance themselves from those of a working class background at this point during the early 1870s. This was

¹ Various sporting activities gradually became more organized amongst members of the upper classes and upper-middle classes within public schools and universities during the course of the nineteenth century. However, swimming was only considered to be a relatively minor activity within public schools and universities (Love, 2003, 2007e; Parker, 2003). Indeed, it was argued that swimming was still not a particularly widespread activity within public schools during the mid-1870s (Leahy, 1875). Instead, the development and codification of competition-based forms of swimming occurred predominantly amongst members of the middle classes outside the public school system.

evident in the less stringent definition of amateur status that had been adopted within the emerging sport of swimming and can also help to explain the willingness amongst members of the Association to reconsider the law that prevented amateurs from competing against professionals.

Throughout the period between 1874 and the early 1880s it remained permissible for amateurs to compete against professionals. However, the relationship between amateurs and professionals was reconsidered following the near demise of the Association in 1880. One of the first tasks undertaken by members of the Association following the affiliation of new clubs and election of new officers was to reconsider the Laws of Amateur Swimming. The amateur/professional distinction was reconsidered as part of this process and the following laws were adopted:

An amateur is one who has never taught, pursued, or assisted in the practice of swimming or any other athletic exercise as a means of pecuniary gain, and who has never competed for a money prize or with a professional or professionals, save under association rules... an amateur swimmer forfeits his right to that title... (a) Who should take part in any race for a prize with anyone who was not an amateur, without the express sanction of the association. (b) Who should sell or make any pecuniary profit out of a prize, directly or indirectly. (c) Who should compete in races described as "All England Handicaps," "Open to All Comers," &c. (as such are professional races, no matter what the prizes are), or in any competition not strictly confined to amateurs (under the association definition) except under clause (a). (d) Who should compete for a declared wager or staked bet (Sinclair and Henry, 1893, p.311-312).

The new definition of amateur status was still based predominantly upon the rejection of any form of monetary gain, but had been extended beyond the activity of swimming in order to legislate against monetary gain from any forms of athletic exercise. This new definition also incorporated the proviso that amateurs would now have to apply directly to the Association in order to request permission if they wished to compete against a professional. This potential loophole was removed when the laws were revised again in 1881:

[1.] An Amateur is one who has never competed for a money prize, declared wager, or staked bet, and who has never taught, pursued or assisted in the practice of swimming, or any other athletic exercise as a means of pecuniary gain... and who has not knowingly, or without protest, taken part in any competition with anyone who is not an amateur.

[2.] That no permission be given to amateurs to compete with professionals (*ASA/SAGB Minute Book No. 3*, 30 May 1881).

The decision to ban competition between amateurs and professionals does not appear to have caused the same level of controversy during the early 1880s. There are several reasons underpinning the gradual acceptance of a stricter division between amateur and professional competitors. One aspect in this process was the gradual trend towards increasing levels of insecurity amongst members of the middle classes as well as the aristocracy and gentry. Huggins (2004, p.62) has argued that ‘as middle-class fears of socialism, industrial conflict and the growing power of unions began to surface in the 1880s, there was increased class-hostility and more opposition to egalitarianism’. Such developments can be explained in relation to ongoing processes of embourgeoisement and the shifting balance of power between the members of different social classes during the course of the nineteenth century. However, it is important to appreciate that these periods of increasing class-tension coincided with the emergence of greater numbers of working class participants within some sports and pastimes that had traditionally been dominated by members of the middle and upper classes. The activities of football and rugby are good examples to illustrate this point. Dunning and Sheard (2005) have examined the processes through which the activities of football and rugby gradually became more standardized, codified and ‘civilized’ within public schools during the course of the nineteenth century. A process of diffusion gradually occurred from the 1850s as football and rugby spread beyond the confines of public schools and universities through the formation of clubs and associations that were dominated by public school alumni (Dunning and Sheard, 2005). A gradual process of ‘democratization’ occurred from the 1870s as members of the lower-middle classes and working classes also began to participate in football and rugby (Dunning and Sheard, 2005, p.113). As members of the lower social classes began to participate within such activities in greater numbers, there was a concomitant trend towards the introduction of lower-middle and working class values that gradually led towards the emergence of notions of professionalism (Dunning and Sheard, 2005). This trend towards the

emergence of professional forms of sport was evident, more particularly, within northern areas of the country (Dunning and Sheard, 2005). In light of heightening class-tensions, the emergence of working class participation and lower class values of professionalism in activities such as football and rugby within northern areas of the country was a particular matter of concern to members of the upper and middle classes in the south. The emergence of professionalism led towards a complex range of power-struggles within many sports and pastimes. In particular, there was an increasing tendency amongst members of the middle classes, aristocracy and gentry in southern areas of the country to oppose notions of professionalism that were emerging in northern areas and to emphasize and reiterate upper and upper-middle class notions of amateurism. In other words, the interweaving of emerging class tensions alongside the emergence of increasing numbers of working class participants and notions of professionalism within many traditional upper class and upper-middle class sporting pastimes gradually led towards the emergence of more distinct notions of amateurism:

Prior to the 1880s, the amateur ethos existed in a relatively inchoate form. It was, that is, an amorphous, loosely articulated set of values regarding the functions of sport and the standards believed necessary for their realization. However, with the threat posed by incipient professionalization in the North, the amateur ethos began to crystallize as a highly specific, elaborate and articulate ideology (Dunning and Sheard, 2005, p.131).

The underpinning traits of this amateur ethos included the notions of fair-play, gentlemanly forms of sporting conduct, greater levels of self-control amongst competitors and an emphasis on sport as a primary means of enjoyment rather than for the purposes of training, victory and monetary gain (Dunning and Sheard, 2005). The fundamental point is that in accordance with the interweaving of these wider social processes there was a gradual trend towards the emergence of amateurism as a more defined upper and middle class ideology within many sports and pastimes in southern areas of the country during these periods.

The general trend towards the emergence of a more specific amateur ideology was reflected within the emerging sport of swimming. Within the emerging social context of increasing class-tensions it would appear that members of the middle classes were more willing to accept a ban upon all forms of competition between amateur and professional

swimmers than had been the case during the 1870s. This trend was reinforced by the increasing involvement of gentleman amateur clubs in the activities of the SAGB. It was noted that prior to the 1880s ‘the better-class clubs held aloof from the association’ (Sinclair and Henry, 1893, p.311). This situation gradually changed following the near demise of the Association in 1880. The Otter Club was one of the gentleman amateur clubs that had become known as the ‘exclusive division’ amongst contemporary commentators (see *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 16 December 1885, p.4; 13 January 1886, p.4). The exclusive clubs were ‘those who give invitation instead of open events at their annual galas’ (Sinclair and Henry, 1893, p.314). This enabled the members of such clubs to ensure that the only people invited to attend their events were those who their members considered to be genuine amateurs. The Otter Club had become affiliated to the Association following the near collapse of the SAGB in 1880. Horace Davenport and H.J. Barron were two of their representatives to the SAGB. Davenport was subsequently elected as President of the SAGB and Barron as Honorary Secretary (*Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, June 1880; 28 June 1880; *ASA/SAGB Minute Book No. 3*, Officers for 1880; 28 June 1880). In addition, it should be noted that Association meetings continued to be held in London. Even though increasing numbers of provincial clubs were gradually becoming affiliated to the SAGB, there were still sizeable numbers of London and southern clubs affiliated to the Association during these periods. The interweaving of increasing class-tensions alongside the increasing participation of exclusive gentleman amateur clubs and a predominant London base for the activities and meetings of the Association appear to have facilitated the formal acceptance of prevailing amateur ideologies within the rules of the Association during this period. This was evident in the fact that all forms of competition between amateurs and professionals were banned by members of the Association. But the emergence of a more specific amateur ethos was also evident in the fact that from 1880 monetary gain had also been forbidden from any other forms of athletic exercise. It was no longer sufficient for competitors to retain their amateur status solely within the emerging sport of swimming. Amateurism was increasingly viewed as an ethos that transcended different forms of sporting activity and amateur competitors were expected to retain their status within all forms of athletic exercise. To this effect, there is evidence that members of the Association also sought greater cooperation with other amateur governing bodies. At one point during the early 1880s, for example, the honorary secretary of the SAGB was requested to contact the Amateur Athletic Association (AAA) in order to gain their views upon the amateur definition that had been adopted

by members of the SAGB (*ASA/SAGB Minute Book No. 3*, 11 April 1881). A response was subsequently received from members of the AAA, although their comments were not recorded within the SAGB minutes (*ASA/SAGB Minute Book No. 3*, 11 April 1881). Nevertheless, it would appear that the amateur laws of the SAGB were revised following this response. The amateur law of 1881 was introduced towards the end of May and it was at this point that the loophole enabling amateurs to apply for permission in order to compete against professionals was removed. Greater cooperation between the SAGB and other amateur associations was gradually ratified in a more formal manner. An agreement was established between members of the SAGB and Bicycle Union (BU) in 1882 that the members of these two governing bodies would cooperate in order to ban, without question, any individual who had been disqualified or suspended by members of the opposite governing body. An important aspect of this arrangement was the agreement that members of the SAGB and BU would be willing to recognize the definitions of amateur status that had been implemented by members of the opposite governing body (*ASA/SAGB Minute Book No. 3*, extract from 'The Sportsman' newspaper dated 13 October 1882; meeting of 13 November 1882). This agreement was later expanded in order to encompass the SAGB, BU and AAA (*ASA/SAGB Minute Book No. 3*, 9 April 1883). This meant that any competitors who were deemed to have lost their amateur status within one of these sporting activities would be disqualified with immediate effect from all three activities. In this manner, it would appear that an attempt was made in some activities to further bolster the amateur ethos that had emerged during the course of the 1880s through the emergence of a collaborative approach to suspension and disqualification.

Despite the gradual emergence of a more specific amateur ideology, it is important to appreciate that the amateur status of competitors continued to be an ongoing cause for concern and debate throughout this period. The implementation of amateur laws within the emerging sport of swimming had been symptomatic of ongoing power-struggles over the definition of amateur status within the swimming-based network throughout the 1870s and 1880s. It has already been argued that members of the Association experienced notable resistance to their amateur laws during the course of the 1870s. It is also clear from the minute books of the Association that cases were brought before members of the Association on a regular basis throughout the 1870s and early-to-mid 1880s of individuals who were accused of breaching their amateur status. Punishments for those who were found guilty of breaching amateur laws were dependent upon the

particulars of each case and could range from a period of suspension to full loss of amateur status (see *ASA Minute Book No. 1: 1869-1873*; *Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*; *ASA/SAGB Minute Book No. 3*; *Minute Book No. 4 of the SAGB*). Indeed, members of the Association also established a 'committee of vigilance' in their attempts to ensure that the Laws of Amateur Swimming were enforced within competitive events and that competitors abided by the laws that defined amateur status (*ASA Minute Book No. 1: 1869-1873*, 12 January 1871; 12 October 1871). Even following the emergence of a more specific amateur ideology during the course of the 1880s, it would appear that there were ongoing power-struggles over the implementation of such regulations. In particular, it was claimed within one sporting newspaper that some upper and upper-middle class gentlemen continued to flout amateur laws with relative impunity (*Swimming Notes*, 15 March 1884, p.3-4; *Swimming Notes and Record*, 12 April 1884, p.1-2; 16 August 1884, p.2; 8 November 1884, p.1-2). It was argued that the 'pseudo-amateur' was perhaps more prevalent within activities such as cycling and athletics, but that there were also some gentleman amateurs who were 'steeped in professionalism' within swimming circles (*Swimming Notes and Record*, 12 April 1884, p.2). The notion of amateurism was denounced in a later edition of this sporting newspaper as a system that was consistently abused by some competitors in activities such as swimming, cycling and athletics (*Swimming Notes and Record*, 31 January 1885, p.2). Such claims reflected a perception amongst some members of the aristocracy and gentry that their higher social status was sufficient to confirm their bona-fide status as amateurs, even if such individuals did occasionally compete for money (Huggins, 2004). Indeed, there were some sports and pastimes in which members of the upper and middle classes continued to accept cash payments in a more discreet manner whereas in other activities some upper and middle class amateurs took steps to legitimize certain forms of payment in the form of expenses. For example, it has been argued in relation to cricket that 'by the 1880s amateur county players allegedly received much more in expenses than professionals received in wages and expenses' (Huggins, 2004, p.60). Such developments were indicative of the class-tensions underpinning the implementation of an amateur/professional distinction within many sports and pastimes. For many members of the upper and middle classes the notion of amateurism continued to be based predominantly upon the social status of competitors. The key point in relation to the emerging sport of swimming is that the interweaving of wider social tensions alongside ongoing class-based power-struggles over the amateur/professional status of competitors gradually led towards a series of disputes amongst amateurs within the

SAGB during the course of the 1880s. These disputes centred, more particularly, upon the implementation of the amateur laws in relation to members of the working classes. This point can be demonstrated in relation to the case of Thomas Cairns.

7.5.2 Amateur Laws and the Amateur Schism

Thomas Cairns had won the 220 yards Amateur Championship in October 1883. A complaint was subsequently lodged against Cairns by a member of the Otter Club, Walter Blew-Jones, who had finished in second place. His complaint was based upon the fact that Cairns was employed by the Corporation of Liverpool as a bath attendant. Blew-Jones claimed that Cairns was engaged in a form of employment in which he ‘assisted in the practise of swimming... as a means of pecuniary gain’ and that Cairns should, therefore, lose his status as an amateur (*Minute Book No. 4 of the SAGB*, 12 November 1883; original emphasis). Members of the Association had been asked for clarification just 18 months earlier on whether employment as a bath attendant should automatically constitute the loss of amateur status. On that occasion, it was decreed that ‘a bath attendant is not considered a Professional swimmer, unless it is shown that he receives payment for teaching swimming, or otherwise infringes the Laws’ (*ASA/SAGB Minute Book No. 3*, 17 April 1882). Subsequently, the complaint raised against Cairns on the basis of his employment as a bath attendant was discussed by members of the Association, but rejected by twenty-three votes to one (*Minute Book No. 4 of the SAGB*, 12 November 1883). Six further charges were then raised that Cairns had previously competed for cash and competed against professional swimmers. Cairns admitted four charges of competing for money at the next Association meeting, but claimed that he had only done so out of ignorance of the Association laws (*Minute Book No. 4 of the SAGB*, 10 December 1883). Indeed, Cairns had previously been brought before members of the Association and suspended from all amateur competitions until the 1 August 1883 for breaching the Laws of Amateur Swimming (see *ASA/SAGB Minute Book No. 3*, 14 September 1882; 9 October 1882). Although Cairns had been suspended, he had been permitted to retain his amateur status due to the fact that members of the Association had accepted that Cairns had not been aware of the Laws of Amateur Swimming when he had breached the amateur regulations. Most of the new accusations raised by members of the Otter Club pre-dated the case for which Cairns had previously been tried and suspended. Cairns denied the remaining accusations. The president of Liverpool Swimming Club spoke in defence of Cairns by emphasizing that amateurs had traditionally been permitted to swim against professionals in Liverpool and that the

Laws of Amateur Swimming had remained largely unknown in that city until the final months of 1881. He argued that it would be unfair to charge Cairns for a second time when he had already served a suspension for breaching the amateur laws prior to becoming aware of them. These charges were debated and a verdict was reached by seventeen votes to six that the case against Cairns should be dismissed and that he should be allowed to retain his amateur status (see *Minute Book No. 4 of the SAGB*, meeting of 10 December 1883; extract from ‘Sporting Life’ newspaper dated 11 December 1883). Nonetheless, this argument continued over the following months. For example, Blew-Jones had indicated that he would seek legal action against the verdict of the Association. Members of the Otter Club then passed their own internal resolutions ‘that a Bath attendant is necessarily a Professional’ and ‘that Mr T. Cairns of Liverpool is a professional’ (*Minute Book No. 4 of the SAGB*, 14 January 1884). Blew-Jones also attempted to return his second place medal from the 220 yards Annual Championship ‘on the grounds that he was entitled to the first prize’ (*Minute Book No. 4 of the SAGB*, 11 February 1884). In addition, it would seem that one of the unintended consequences of greater cooperation between members of the SAGB, AAA and BU was to provide another potential avenue for an appeal. This was evident in the fact that members of the Otter Club had approached members of the AAA and requested their opinion on whether bath attendants should be viewed as amateurs or professionals. A letter was subsequently sent to the SAGB in which it was stated that ‘under A.A.A. laws both bath attendants & watermen’s apprentices are professionals’ (*Minute Book No. 4 of the SAGB*, 10 March 1884). After members of the SAGB had been informed of the contents of this letter, it was proposed by one of the delegates from the Otter Club that the previous ruling by members of the SAGB on the status of bath attendants should be revised and that the case of Thomas Cairns should be revisited (*Minute Book No. 4 of the SAGB*, 10 March 1884). Yet in spite of the various actions that had been taken by members of the Otter Club, both of these proposals were rejected by members of the SAGB. This dispute appears to have been based predominantly upon the prevailing class-tensions of this period. Walter Blew-Jones was a member of the Otter Club, which was one of the exclusive gentleman amateur clubs based in London. Thomas Cairns was a working class bath attendant from Liverpool. The crux of the argument put forward by members of the Otter Club was based upon the notion that employment as a bath attendant was sufficient to warrant exclusion as an amateur under the Laws of Amateur Swimming. The unintended consequence of these ongoing class-based power-struggles over the definition of amateur status was that members of the Otter Club – unsatisfied

with the outcome of these events – decided to resign from the SAGB (*Minute Book No. 4 of the SAGB*, 7 April 1884).

The resignation of the Otter Club precipitated the emergence of a rival governing body. The ASU was formed in 1884 and the first formal meeting of the full governing executive was attended by delegates from the Otter, Richmond, Kew Bridge, Imperial, Cadogan and Norwood swimming clubs (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 1 November 1884, p.6). Some clubs joined and others seceded from the ASU over the following years, but the ASU continued to be formed predominantly from membership of the exclusive gentleman amateur clubs throughout this period (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 16 December 1885, p.4; 13 January 1886, p.4). In basic terms, the unintended consequence of these ongoing class-based power-struggles had been a division within the emerging sport of swimming between the amateur clubs of the SAGB and the gentleman amateur clubs of the ASU. Members of the ASU instituted their own amateur laws – although details of these laws do not appear to be available – and their own amateur championship events (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 27 March 1885, p.4; *Swimming Notes and Record*, 4 October 1884, p.1). In addition, members of the ASU declared Thomas Cairns to be a professional and legislated that all individuals who competed against Cairns after 26 August 1885 would be disqualified from amateur status under ASU laws (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 25 August 1885, p.4). In response, members of the SAGB legislated that all amateur events must be held under SAGB laws and that all competitors risked suspension or disqualification for breaching this regulation (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 29 August 1885, p.3).

There were numerous ongoing arguments and power-struggles between members of the SAGB and ASU throughout the period between 1884 and 1886, although it was noted at the outset of 1886 that membership of the SAGB continued to outweigh membership of the ASU (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 13 January 1886, p.4). Nevertheless, it is evident from the minutes of the SAGB that members were becoming increasingly concerned at the effect that the current amateur schism was having upon the emerging sport of swimming (*Minute Book No. 4 of the SAGB*, 11 January 1886). Just over twelve months prior to this point one SAGB delegate had moved that members of the SAGB should seek to meet with members of the ASU in order to arrive at some form of settlement. That proposal had been rejected by twenty-three votes to

three (*Minute Book No. 4 of the SAGB*, 10 November 1884). But at the outset of 1886 it was again proposed that members of the SAGB should attempt to arrange a meeting with members of the ASU in order to end the current schism. This proposal was justified in relation to the negative impact of the current amateur schism within the emerging sport of swimming. On this occasion there was a unanimous vote in favour of an approach being made towards members of the ASU (*Minute Book No. 4 of the SAGB*, 11 January 1886). Numerous meetings were held over the following months as members of the SAGB and ASU attempted to come to an agreement that would enable the amalgamation of these two governing bodies. It was noted that ‘mutual concessions had been made’ by both parties in relation to issues such as the case of Thomas Cairns, although further details regarding such concessions were not provided within this article (*Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 9 February 1886, p.4). Discussions continued over the following months as representatives of the SAGB and ASU attempted to formulate a set of laws and constitutional rules that would facilitate a merger between these two governing bodies (*Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 9 March 1886, p.4; 4 May 1886, p.4; *Minute Book No. 4 of the SAGB*, 8 March 1886; 12 April 1886; 3 May 1886; 10 May 1886). An agreement was finally reached between members of the SAGB and ASU in June 1886 when it was decided that these two organizations would merge in order to form the ASA. It was agreed that the new executive council of the ASA would initially be comprised of fourteen representatives of the former SAGB and six from the former ASU (*Minute Book No. 4 of the SAGB*, 7 June 1886). An integral aspect of this agreement was acceptance of the following definition of amateur status under the newly constituted ASA:

An amateur is one who has never competed for a money prize, declared wager, or staked bet; who has never taught, pursued, or assisted in the practice of swimming, or any other athletic exercise, as a means of pecuniary gain; and who has not, knowingly, or without protest, taken part in any competition or exhibition with anyone who is not an amateur.

The following exception shall be made to this law, viz.:– Amateur swimmers shall not lose their amateur status by competing with or against professional football players in ordinary club matches for which no prizes are given, or in cup competitions permitted by the National Football Associations or Rugby Unions of England, Ireland, Scotland, or Wales.

A swimmer ceases to be an amateur, and becomes a professional by –

- (a) Engaging in swimming or any other athletic exercise – or personally teaching, training, or coaching any other person therein – for pecuniary gain.
- (b) Selling, realising upon, or otherwise turning into cash, any prize won by him.
- (c) Accepting remuneration for swimming in public, or by being employed for money or wages in a swimming bath or elsewhere as an attendant on swimmers (Sinclair and Henry, 1893, p.316-317).

This new definition of amateur status was still based predominantly upon the rejection of any form of monetary gain from swimming or any other form of athletic activity. Given the ongoing class-based power-struggles of this period, it is interesting to note the inclusion of a clause to enable amateur swimmers to compete alongside or against professionals within certain football or rugby matches. The reason for inclusion of this clause is unclear, but might reflect the increasing popularity of football and rugby alongside the gradual emergence of professionalism and the mixing of amateurs and professionals within such activities in light of ongoing processes of democratization (see Dunning and Sheard, 2005). Perhaps members of the ASA were concerned at the prospect of any further disputes that might result from an outright ban against all of those who competed with or against such individuals? Or perhaps this was simply a means for members of the upper and upper-middle classes to continue to participate in football and rugby – activities that had traditionally emerged amongst those groups – without breaching the very amateur laws that were endorsed by the same individuals within swimming circles? Whatever the reason, permission was granted for amateurs to compete against professionals within certain football and rugby matches without the risk of losing their amateur status. The same concessions were not made in relation to any other forms of athletic exercise. The importance of emerging class tensions within and throughout the wider social network continued to be evident in the formation of this new amateur law in the fact that employment as a ‘baths attendant’ was now deemed to be sufficient grounds, in itself, for the amateur status of a competitor to be revoked.

7.5.3 Laws Governing Competitive Events

Whilst some authors have attempted to examine the emergence of formal laws regarding the amateur/professional status of competitors, it is important to emphasize that many of the other Laws of Amateur Swimming that were ratified during these periods have been overlooked within existing literature. Keil and Wix (1996) have previously included an

image of a full set of Laws of Amateur Swimming from 1873 within their work, but did not subsequently comment upon any of the individual laws that were contained therein. The apparent lack of interest in many of the other Laws of Amateur Swimming has been a notable oversight amongst other authors to date. The emergence of standardized laws under the auspices of a centralized governing body is an important indicator of a gradual trend towards increasing levels of organization within the emerging sport of swimming. The laws that were instituted during these periods can be utilized in order to determine those issues that were a matter of concern for contemporary legislators. Twenty-five laws were ratified by delegates to the Swimming Congress on the 7 January 1869 (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 9 January 1869, p.2). These laws continued to be revised over the following years and the number of laws fluctuated in accordance with such developments. There were twenty-three Laws of Amateur Swimming by the end of 1870, twenty-four by 1872, twenty-three by November 1873 and nineteen at the outset of 1878 (see *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 17 December 1870, p.12; 17 February 1872, p.4; *Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, 22 November 1873, p.4; *Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, 14 January 1878). A total of 135 laws were later agreed between members of the SAGB and ASU prior to the formation of the ASA in 1886. Full copies of these laws do not appear to have survived, but it was noted that they were 'divided into six parts: (1) constitution; (2) management; (3) appeals against suspensions; (4) conduct of council meetings; (5) conduct of race meetings; and (6) management of championships' (Sinclair and Henry, 1893, p.316). On this basis, it would appear that the number of laws that were implemented under the newly constituted ASA was indicative of increasing levels of organization and codification over these periods.

Although it is not possible to examine the laws that had been implemented by members of the ASA in 1886, the aim within this section is to examine those laws that gradually led towards greater standardization in the structure of competitive events in the period between 1869 and the late 1870s. In particular, the formal requirement for designated officials to be appointed in order to undertake a range of specified tasks was an important development during this period. Under law number eleven of the inaugural Laws of Amateur Swimming it was stated that 'an umpire and a judge shall be appointed for each competition by the donor or donors of the prize' and it was noted under law twelve that 'if necessary, the duties of umpire and judge may be combined in one official' (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 9 January 1869, p.2). The

term 'umpire' was later replaced with the term 'starter' within both of these laws (see *Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, 14 January 1878). The formal appointment of race officials was not, in itself, a particularly notable development. A range of officials were often appointed by the members of different clubs in order to oversee their competitive events. This had been relatively common since the period between the 1840s and late 1860s. However, there was considerable variation in the type of officials that were appointed by the members of different clubs. Under the Laws of Amateur Swimming there was now a formal requirement for a designated umpire and/or judge to be appointed in order to oversee competitive events. But the crucial point is that the tasks and responsibilities to be undertaken by such officials were outlined in a series of formal statements within the Laws of Amateur Swimming. For example, the tasks to be undertaken by an umpire/starter prior to a race were outlined in the following laws:

13. At the time appointed for the start the umpire shall read over the names of those entered for the competition, and any person not answering to his name at that time shall be considered a non-starter, and shall forfeit the amount of his entrance fee.

14. The choice of station at starting shall be determined by the umpire placing the numbers of the respective stations in a hat, and each competitor drawing singly from the same. The competitor drawing No. 1 to have first choice and the others in rotation, according to their numbers.

15. The umpire previous to the start shall describe, in the hearing of all the competitors, the course of the competition and the spot where it shall terminate. Should they be required to round any object he shall also describe in what manner it shall be rounded. If a boat be the goal it is to be securely moored at both ends (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 9 January 1869, p.2).

There was an important amendment to one of these laws in 1870 when it was resolved that 'the choice of stations at starting shall be determined by ballot, except in handicaps, when the umpire shall place the competitors in their respective positions' (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 17 December 1870, p.12). Handicap events gradually became more popular from the 1860s. This alteration presumably facilitated a more straightforward starting procedure within handicap events as it would have been possible under this revised law for an umpire/starter to position competitors in the same order as their allotted handicaps. This would probably have enabled the starting

intervals between different swimmers to be more easily managed by an umpire/starter. There were minor alterations to these procedures over time, but the core content remained the same throughout this period (see *Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, 14 January 1878). The key point is that there was now a formal requirement under these laws for umpires/starters to adhere to standard procedures prior to the start of a race in order to ensure greater consistency between different events and locations. Adherence to these laws would have ensured that all competitors were provided with the same information prior to the start and that all were conversant with the manner in which the course was to be completed. The process of drawing for stations by ballot would also have ensured a fairer approach to determining the positioning of competitors. This was an important issue due to the fact that the sidestroke had emerged as the prevailing racing style amongst many competitors between the 1840s and 1860s. It will be argued in the following sections of this chapter that the overhand stroke gradually emerged as the prevailing racing style amongst many of the fastest competitors in the period between the 1860s and mid-1880s. Given that competitors swam on their side when utilizing both of these styles, it is evident that such competitors would not have been able to see opponents who were positioned on their blind side during the course of a race. In other words, it would have been advantageous for a swimmer to be positioned in a station that enabled them to view the relative progress of all of their opponents. The use of a ballot would have been a relatively fair method of offering all competitors an equal opportunity to gain their favoured stations within scratch events. The same technique was utilized whenever there were larger numbers of entrants for an event as a means of determining which competitors would take part in which heat:

19. If there be more competitors than are sufficient for one heat their names shall be written on separate pieces of paper and placed in a hat, and those first drawn therefrom shall contend for the first heat, followed at such intervals as the umpire may direct, by the remaining competitors (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 9 January 1869, p.2).

There were alterations to the wording of this law over time, but the basic premise throughout this period was that the participants for each heat would be selected on the basis of a ballot (see *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 17 December 1870, p.12; *Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, 24 January 1874, p.4; *Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, 14 January 1878). This would have restricted any

potential opportunities for a particular swimmer to be placed in an easier or more difficult heat as an aid or hindrance to their prospects of progressing to the next round. In this manner, the use of a ballot would have been a relatively fair method for determining the opponents that each competitor would face. Having brought competitors to the starting point, there were two further laws detailing the procedures for starting a race that were to be followed by the umpire/starter:

16. The start to be directed by the umpire, who, when he is satisfied that all the competitors are ready, shall give the word “go.”

17. Any start made before the umpire’s order shall be deemed a false start, and the competitors be required to return to their stations. Any competitor failing to do so to be distanced (*Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 9 January 1869, p.2).

The same starting procedure was utilized within the Laws of Amateur Swimming throughout this period (see *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 17 December 1870, p.12; 17 February 1872, p.4; *Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, 22 November 1873, p.4; *Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, 14 January 1878). However, there were several alterations to the second of these laws regarding the procedure that should be followed in the event of a false start. There were no clauses to clarify what it would have meant for a competitor to be ‘distanced’. This term was later replaced with the more clear-cut statement that competitors would be ‘disqualified’ for breaching these laws (see *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 17 December 1870, p.12). Further revisions were made in 1872 when handicap events were outlined as an exception in which it was noted that performing a false start would lead to automatic disqualification (*Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 17 February 1872, p.4). This ruling was later revoked and the previous law was reinstated to the effect that any competitor who performed a false start would be disqualified if they failed to return to their starting point (*Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, 22 November 1873, p.4). This ruling appears to have remained in place throughout the rest of this period (see *Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, 14 January 1878). The emergence of formal procedures to regulate the start of a race and to legislate against false starts was important in ensuring a common approach to such issues. There is insufficient evidence within contemporary sources to determine whether other methods of starting races had previously been utilized within competitive events. Nevertheless, it is evident that the

adoption of a standard procedure for the start of all competitive events would have facilitated a consistent approach within all events that were held under the Laws of Amateur Swimming. The fact that the punitive measure of disqualification was eventually outlined in advance would also have been important in ensuring that competitors were aware of the potential repercussions of failing to abide by these regulations and would also have facilitated a consistent response from officials in those instances when competitors did perform a false start. Such developments were important in ensuring that the start of a race would take place under a set of procedures that would help to ensure greater equality between competitors.

The preceding laws refer to the different procedures that were to be followed prior to the start of a race. Several laws were also formulated in order to regulate the type of actions that could be taken by competitors during a race. For example, it was noted in law number eighteen of the inaugural Laws of Amateur Swimming that ‘any competitor rounding an object contrary to the umpire’s direction, and not turning back, [was] to be distanced’ (*Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 9 January 1869, p.2). Again, the term ‘distanced’ was later replaced with the more clear-cut statement that competitors would be ‘disqualified’ for breaching this law (*Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 17 December 1870, p.12). There was already a formal requirement under the Laws of Amateur Swimming for the umpire/starter to inform competitors prior to the start of the event of the manner in which the course was to be completed. From 1870 it was clear that competitors would be disqualified if they failed to follow the instructions that had been given or failed to turn back in order to rectify any mistakes. In addition, several laws had been established in relation to the issue of ‘fouling’ (see table 7.4).

Table 7.4: Regulations against Fouling within the Laws of Amateur Swimming

	Laws Relating to Fouling
January 1869	<p>21. The umpire shall be sole judge of any foul that may take place.</p> <p>22. It is the province of the umpire when appealed to, but not otherwise, to decide a foul, and the competitor decided by him to have fouled shall be distanced.</p> <p>23. The umpire, if appealed to during the competition, shall have power to order any competitor whom he may decide guilty of a foul out of the course; any competitor refusing to obey his order shall be disqualified for open competitions for the period of six calendar months.</p> <p>24. If a competitor shall become disqualified the umpire shall forward his name, address, &c, together with the disqualification to the hon sec of the council of the association within 10 days. These returns in all cases to be made in writing and signed by the umpire.</p>
December 1870	<p>19. The umpire shall be sole judge of any foul that may take place.</p> <p>20. It is the province of the umpire (when appealed to) to decide a foul, and any competitor refusing to obey his order shall be disqualified from open competitions for the period of one calendar month.</p> <p>21. If a competitor shall become disqualified the umpire shall forward his name, address, &c, together with the disqualification, to the hon sec within 10 days. These returns in all cases to be made in writing, and signed by the umpire.</p>
February 1872	<p>19. The umpire shall be sole judge of any foul that may take place.</p> <p>20. If a competitor shall become disqualified, the umpire shall forward his name, address, &c, together with the disqualification, to the hon secretary of the M.S.A. within 10 days. These returns in all cases to be made in writing, and signed by the umpire.</p>
November 1873	<p>18. The umpire shall be sole judge of any foul that may take place.</p> <p>19. It is the province of the umpire, “when appealed to,” to decide a foul, and any competitor refusing to obey his order shall be disqualified from open competitions, for a period to be determined upon by the Association.</p> <p>21. If a competitor shall become disqualified, the umpire shall forward his name, address, &c., together with the disqualification, to the hon. sec., within 10 days; these returns, in all cases, to be made in writing, and signed by the umpire.</p>
January 1878	<p>XIII. – The Judge shall have sole control over the competition after the start, and his decision shall be final. It is the province of the Judge to decide a foul – whether accidental or wilful; if the latter, the competitor shall be disqualified for all open competitions for a period to be determined by the Committee of the Association.</p>

Sources: *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle* (9 January 1869, p.2; 17 December 1870, p.12; 17 February 1872, p.4); *Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events* (22 November 1873, p.4); *Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA* (14 January 1878).

It is unclear to what extent 'fouling' was a problem within swimming-based competitions or what exactly constituted a foul. Given that lane ropes were not utilized in order to segregate swimmers during these periods, it would have been possible for competitors to collide. But it would probably have been difficult to see or judge a foul, given that much of the body remains underneath the waterline whilst swimming. Nevertheless, it would seem that the level of concern had been sufficient amongst members of the Association to incorporate clauses against fouling within the inaugural Laws of Amateur Swimming in 1869. It would appear that during these earlier years an umpire was only required to pass judgement in those instances when a competitor made a direct appeal that they had been fouled. Unless such a claim was made, it would seem that an umpire had no formal jurisdiction to pass judgement on any possible fouls or contact that might have taken place. In those instances when an appeal had been instigated, the decision of the umpire would be final. Indeed, the umpire was afforded the authority to 'distance' any competitor who transgressed these laws or to instruct them to withdraw from the contest.

Several alterations were made to these laws in 1870, 1872 and 1873, but the alterations of 1878 were particularly notable. It has already been argued that prior to 1878 there had been a formal requirement for an umpire and/or judge to be appointed in order to oversee competitive events. However, there had been no clear-cut distinction between the responsibilities that would be undertaken by an umpire and those that would be undertaken by a judge. This distinction was introduced in 1878 through the statement that the judge would be responsible for making all necessary decisions during the course of a race. Meanwhile, it was noted within many of those laws that have already been examined that from 1878 it was the responsibility of the umpire/starter to ensure that the correct starting procedures were adhered to. It was still possible for both of these roles to be undertaken by the same individual. However, a specific distinction had been introduced from 1878 between those responsibilities that would be attributed to an umpire/starter and those that would be attributed to a judge whenever more than one official was appointed. In addition, a formal distinction was introduced in 1878 between accidental and intentional fouls. Any swimmer who was deemed to have intentionally fouled another competitor would be sentenced to serve a period of suspension. In this respect, it is important to note that judges were no longer hindered by the requirement to wait for a claim to be made that a foul had been committed. Under the laws of 1878 it

appears to have become the responsibility of the judge to be more proactive in detecting any instances of accidental or intentional fouls.

Stokvis (1992, 2005) has claimed that figurational sociologists have tended to over-emphasize the increasing regulation of overt physical violence as an explanation for the development of modern sports. It was noted at the outset of this investigation that figurational sociologists have often examined the development of contact sports such as rugby and boxing in relation to civilizing processes. However, the felt need to ban all forms of physical contact within the emerging sport of competitive swimming indicates that the concept of the civilizing process can also be utilized in order to understand the development of those sports that seem to involve minimal bodily contact. In other words, the introduction of formal laws to legislate against fouls was indicative of wider civilizing trends. In accordance with the lowering threshold of repugnance within and throughout the wider social network, there was an increasing expectation that people would maintain greater self-control over their emotions within competitive situations (Maguire, 1991). This was evident in the revision of existing laws to prevent intentional fouls in 1878. It was acknowledged that swimmers might accidentally collide during the course of a race. Whether accidental collisions were penalized is unclear, but it would seem that such decisions might have been left to the discretion of the judge. However, it was deemed unacceptable for swimmers to intentionally foul other competitors and any such infractions resulted in a period of suspension from all competitive events. The requirement not to foul other competitors necessitated a degree of self-restraint whilst engaged in the heightened tension-excitement of such events. Intentional contact between competitors does not appear to have been a widespread issue within contemporary texts or newspaper reports. The lack of such reports might perhaps indicate that the tendency towards self-control was relatively high amongst competitors within such events, particularly in light of the fact that lane ropes were not yet utilized in order to segregate competitors.

These civilizing trends were also encapsulated within emerging amateur notions of fair play and gentlemanly sporting conduct. The emergence of an amateur ideology during the course of the nineteenth century was related to ongoing processes of embourgeoisement and increasing class-tensions within and throughout the wider social network (Dunning and Sheard, 2005). Yet the emergence of notions such as fair play and gentlemanly sporting conduct were also indicative of more 'civilized' and

restrained forms of behaviour. In the same manner that more ‘civilized’ forms of social etiquette had gradually become a marker of higher social status, over time, within a wider social context, it would appear that notions of fair play and gentlemanly sporting conduct gradually emerged during the course of the nineteenth century as a means for members of the upper and middle classes to distinguish their more ‘refined’ forms of behaviour within sporting activities from the behaviour of the working classes. An increasing desire to ensure greater fairness and equality between competitors was an underpinning factor in the introduction of many of the laws that were established within the emerging sport of swimming during this period. This point was evident in relation to the laws and formal procedures that were introduced in order to ensure greater equality between competitors prior to the start of a race, in the starting procedures that were utilized and in the rules that were implemented during the course of an event. The introduction of such laws was indicative of a gradual trend towards greater standardization within the emerging sport of swimming, but it is important to appreciate that such developments reflected wider civilizing processes.

The emergence of standardized laws during this period was an important indicator of a gradual trend towards greater levels of organization within the emerging sport of swimming. The final point to emphasize in relation to such processes is that these laws had been instituted under the auspices of an increasingly centralized governing body. This trend was reflected over this period in the increasing centralization of decision making over competitive regulations. In 1870 a law was introduced in order to prevent event organizers from implementing their own rulings over any matters that had not previously been determined by members of the Association. Under this law it was stated that ‘in the event of a dispute arising that none of the foregoing laws touch upon, the association shall have full power to deal with any such case as they may think fit’ (*Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 17 December 1870, p.12). The wording of this law was later revised in order to emphasize that such matters should be brought to the attention of members of the Association due to the fact that ‘any dispute or question arising that the foregoing laws do not decide, shall be determined by the vote of a majority of the members of the Committee of the Association’ (*Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA*, 14 January 1878). Such developments are indicative of a gradual trend towards the centralization of decision making, which was important in facilitating the implementation of standardized competitive regulations. The key point is that the emergence of an increasingly centralized governing body with control over legislative

powers was an important indicator of a gradual trend towards the sportization of swimming.

7.6 Emergence of the Overhand Stroke

Despite all of the laws and regulations that had been introduced by members of the Association during these periods, it is notable that no attempt had been made within the Laws of Amateur Swimming to regulate the type of swimming strokes that could be utilized within competitive events. Indeed, there had been no attempt to implement laws in order to distinguish between the different styles of swimming that were known and utilized during these periods or to regulate the type of movements that were permitted within different strokes. In basic terms, it remained permissible throughout these periods for competitors to utilize any style or styles of swimming that they wished within the majority of competitive events. This was certainly the case within the Amateur Championships that had been instituted by members of the Association. There were no restrictions upon the style or styles of swimming that could be utilized within these championship events. Similarly, it is evident from contemporary reports that there were no restrictions upon the style or styles of swimming that could be utilized within the majority of club events during these periods (see, for example, *Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, 24 May 1873 – 9 May 1874 and *Swimming Notes and Record*, 29 March 1884 – 10 October 1885). The members of some clubs and associations were known to promote occasional races in which competitors were only permitted to swim upon their breast and other events in which competitors were restricted to swimming upon their back. But in the overwhelming majority of club events there continued to be no restrictions upon the style or styles of swimming that could be used. Indeed, it is evident from available data that some competitors continued to utilize more traditional styles of breaststroke and sidestroke within competitive events in accordance with their own preferences and abilities.

It was argued in the previous chapter that the sidestroke had gradually emerged as the predominant racing style in the period between the 1840s and late 1860s. This was explained in relation to interweaving of processes of rationalization alongside lengthening chains of interdependence within and throughout the emerging swimming-based network. These processes continued throughout the period between the late 1860s and mid-1880s. In this respect, it was important that members of the Association did not attempt to restrict the styles of swimming that could be utilized within competitive

events and did not seek to introduce laws to stipulate the type of movements that were permissible within prevailing styles of swimming. This provided a basis for people to continue to experiment with different racing techniques during these periods. For example, the emergence of a style of swimming that would later become known as the Trudgeon stroke is indicative of this point. The following comments were published in relation to a 160 yards handicap race that had been held at the Lambeth Baths in 1873. A man named John Trudgeon won this event:

I question indeed if the swimming world ever saw a more peculiar stroke, sustained throughout a 160 yards race. I have seen many fast exponents retain the action for some distance, but the great exertion compels them to desist, very much fatigued. In Trudgeon, however, a totally opposite state of things existed, for here we had a man swimming apparently easy, turning very badly, and when finished appeared as though he could have gone at least another 80 yards at the same pace. His action reminds an observer of a style peculiar to Indians; both arms are thrown partly sideways, but very slovenly, and the head kept completely above water (*Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, 16 August 1873, p.2).

In a separate report it was also stated that Trudgeon ‘swam with both arms entirely out of the water, an action peculiar to Indians’ (*Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, 16 August 1873, p.2). It is clear from such comments that this style of swimming was rarely utilized throughout the duration of a competitive event. Some authors have claimed that Trudgeon had ‘invented and popularised a new stroke’ and that such developments were ‘attributable to one man’ (Keil and Wix, 1996, p.26). This type of mono-causal explanation is problematic. Within the above reports it was noted that some swimmers had occasionally been known to demonstrate a similar style of swimming to Trudgeon, but only over relatively short distances. Moreover, it was later noted that Trudgeon had learned to swim by observing other people swimming in the River Plate in South America (*Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, 25 April 1874, p.2). In this manner, it is evident that Trudgeon’s style of swimming was not without precedent. However, the success experienced by Trudgeon within this event appears to have been a notable occurrence because this style of swimming was one of the more unusual and strenuous styles of this period and was not in widespread use. Despite Trudgeon’s performance, this style of swimming did not suddenly become commonplace in the following years. It will be shown in the following chapter that

some competitors continued to experiment with the Trudgeon technique over subsequent decades. However, it was not until the early 1890s that a variation of the Trudgeon stroke gradually came to be utilized on a more widespread basis. In this manner, it would seem that Trudgeon had played an important initial role in highlighting the potential benefits of this type of arm-action. In other words, the heightened interest that was shown in this style of swimming was important in facilitating greater consideration of the improvements in speed that might result from a style in which both arms were alternately brought forwards over the water. But the prevailing racing style amongst competitors during the 1870s and mid-1880s continued to be based upon a variation of the sidestroke.

The sidestroke had emerged as the prevailing racing style amongst many competitors in the period between the 1840s and 1860s. However, some competitors gradually began to utilize a style of swimming that was known as the overhand stroke within competitive events from the 1860s and this trend increased during the course of the 1870s (*Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 27 November 1875, p.8). By the mid-1880s the sidestroke and breaststroke were still utilized by some contemporary swimmers, but the fastest competitors now preferred the overhand stroke (*Swimming Notes and Record*, 27 June 1885, p.1). The overhand stroke was still swum on the side, but the uppermost hand was lifted forwards over the surface of the water:

This stroke [the overhand] is exactly similar to the side stroke with the exception of the following:— The right arm, instead of being brought under water from the hips to the head, leaves the water at the hips and [is] brought forward just above the surface, the fingers entering the water a little before the arm is stretched out at full length forward. In pulling the right arm down the swimmer should respire under water, so that the lungs are emptied and ready for inspiration only when the head is raised at the end of the stroke with the right arm... This stroke is the most rapid ever known, the fastest times on record from 100 yards to two miles having been swum in this style... Although the sidestroke is generally considered to be the most elegant style known, there are many swimmers who think the overhand stroke far superior to any other in that respect, and it is admitted by all good judges that, taking into consideration the high rate of speed attainable by its means, the overhand stroke, when exhibited by a first-class swimmer, far excels any other style (Finney, 1886, p.5).

These points are indicative that the Trudgeon was not yet considered to be the most appropriate style for shorter sprint events. Indeed, it is evident that the fastest swimmers of this period tended to utilize the overhand stroke for all competitive events up to a distance of two miles. The emergence of the overhand stroke was based upon an increasing awareness that greater speed could be attained with the overhand due to the fact that less resistance was experienced by a swimmer when their arm was recovered over the water than when their arm was pushed through the water in the more traditional sidestroke (Pettigrew, 1873). Such developments were indicative of an ongoing trend towards the examination, refinement and revision of swimming techniques as well as further experimentation in light of the increasing awareness of emerging scientific principles during these periods. The gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence within the swimming-based network also facilitated greater opportunities to observe and experiment with the techniques that were utilized by others. In this manner, the emergence of the overhand stroke was related to ongoing processes of rationalization and lengthening chains of interdependence within and throughout the swimming-based network.

7.7 The Predecessor Bodies of the ASA, c.1869-1886

The emergence of an increasingly centralized governing body in the period between 1869 and the mid-1880s was an important development within the emerging sport of swimming. The members of this Association established the first standardized laws to govern competitive events and instituted several national championships. Such developments were indicative of increasing levels of organization within the emerging sport of swimming. Many of the developments that occurred during this period were underpinned by the interweaving of a range of civilizing trends alongside ongoing processes of embourgeoisement and increasing class-tensions within and throughout the wider social network. The schism that emerged within amateur ranks in light of ongoing power-struggles over the implementation of upper and upper-middle class notions of amateurism was eventually resolved as members of the SAGB and ASU reconciled their differences in order to form the ASA. There had been a gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence within the emerging sport of swimming during this period. However, it was only in the decades following the emergence of the newly constituted ASA that competitive forms of swimming gradually came to be organized on a more complex basis at local, regional and national levels in England and through

the emergence of an international governing body in the early years of the twentieth century. It is the various processes and power-struggles that gradually led towards greater hierarchical interdependence at local, regional, national and international levels within the emerging sport of swimming that will be examined within the following chapter.

Chapter 8: Towards the Emergence of Modern Competitive Swimming, c.1886-1908

8.1 Introduction

Following the emergence of the newly constituted ASA in 1886, there was a gradual trend towards greater hierarchical interdependence within the swimming-based network as competitive swimming gradually became more organized at local, county, district and national levels in England. Such developments were also reflected in the emergence of a more complex hierarchy of competitive events during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The emergence of a gradual trend towards greater hierarchical interdependence within competitive swimming in England will be examined in the following sections of this chapter. However, there were several other developments during these periods that also require examination. The continued codification of competitive swimming will briefly be examined. The gradual emergence and participation of women within competitive swimming during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is another topic that requires consideration. In addition, it will be argued that there were ongoing developments throughout this period in the type of swimming strokes and techniques that were utilized within competitive events. The processes underpinning such developments will be examined towards the latter stages of this chapter. Consideration will then turn to the emergence of the first international competitions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the formation of an international governing body for competitive swimming in 1908. It will be argued that the range of developments that occurred within competitive swimming during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were indicative of the emergence of swimming as a modern competitive sport.

8.2 The Emergence of District Associations

There was a gradual trend in the period between the mid-1880s and the early twentieth century towards the emergence of a more complex system of administration, organization and competition at local, county, district and national levels in England within the emerging sport of swimming.¹ The emergence of a more complex system of

¹ Before examining such developments, it is important to reiterate that the ASA minute book for the years between 1886 and 1894 was unavailable during the course of this research having been lost or misplaced within the archives of the ASA. It was noted in Chapter 4 that alternative data were sought from various sources in an attempt to compensate for this missing item. Data for the period between 1886 and 1894 have been drawn from contemporary newspaper reports and swimming-based books. Data for the

administration, organization and competition was indicative of a range of processes and power-struggles between the members of different groups. One of the main developments during this period was the emergence of district associations that operated under the jurisdiction of the ASA. Love (2003) has only commented upon such developments in a few brief sentences. However, there are authors who have examined the various events that contributed to the emergence of district associations for the northern, southern and midland counties of England in 1889 (see Keil and Wix, 1996; Parker, 2003). These authors are already aware of many of the empirical events that will be examined in the following paragraphs. The aim, therefore, is to develop a more overt theoretical examination of these various processes. This is important in order to provide an initial basis for examining a range of subsequent developments that occurred during the 1890s and early twentieth century. It will be argued that these later developments have currently received scant attention from other authors. But it is first important to examine the emergence of district associations under the jurisdiction of the ASA in the late 1880s.

The emergence of district associations was predicated, in basic terms, upon increasing concerns amongst the members of many provincial clubs over their level of representation in the activities of the ASA. All meetings of the ASA and its predecessor bodies had been held in London since the initial formation of the Association in 1869. The constitutional laws of the Association had been altered in the late 1870s in order to allow the members of all provincial clubs to vote upon matters in advance, in writing, without attending meetings in London. However, this right had been revoked under the new constitutional laws of the ASA in 1886 (*Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 17 March 1888). The members of several provincial clubs had argued that this law should be reinstated, but their proposal was voted down at the annual meeting of the ASA in 1887 (*Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 17 March 1888). The same proposal was again brought forward at the annual meeting of the ASA in 1888. On this occasion it was argued that at least twenty provincial clubs were known to have withdrawn from the ASA over the last few years as a result of the relative inability of their members to vote upon Association matters. In particular, it was argued that the time and expense of travelling to London was preventing the members of many provincial clubs from attending ASA meetings (*Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex*

subsequent period between 1894 and 1908 have been drawn from the minute books and handbooks of the ASA as well as from contemporary swimming-based books and periodicals.

Chronicle, 14 April 1888). Such arguments reflected a growing concern amongst the members of many provincial clubs over the relative power that was enjoyed by London clubs within the newly constituted ASA. The reinstatement of written votes for provincial clubs does not appear to have been viewed as a feasible option by many of the assembled delegates. Instead, it was argued that ‘as a means of working it’ the members of many provincial clubs would probably be willing to accept the introduction of a system of ‘proxy voting by local centres’ (*Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 14 April 1888). A local centre was envisaged as a relatively small association of clubs within a particular geographical area. These local centres would be affiliated directly to the ASA. Whether the formation of a local centre would have involved the devolution of certain responsibilities from the ASA in order to allow local issues to be determined at a local level is unclear. Perhaps of greater interest is the fact that members of the ASA were unwilling to consider the restoration of written votes for provincial clubs. Had the number of affiliated clubs increased to such an extent over this period that the option of introducing written votes for each provincial club was now considered to be unworkable? Had the previous system of written votes not functioned in an efficient manner? Or were there other concerns for the members of some affiliated clubs? Was the introduction of local centres viewed as a possible means of diluting the provincial vote? Was this deemed to be a potential method of maintaining the current dominance of London clubs? It is difficult to answer such questions on the basis of existing evidence. Nevertheless, it is important to consider such issues in light of the initial removal of written votes for provincial clubs and the subsequent reticence, amongst some members of the ASA, towards the restoration of the voting system that had previously been utilized. Whatever the answer to these various questions, it is important to note that the proposal to allow the formation of local centres had been carried at this meeting (*Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 14 April 1888). This decision should have provided a basis, in theory, for the members of all provincial clubs to form and/or join a local centre in order to vote upon ASA matters without attending meetings in London.

Although the members of various provincial clubs had previously expressed their dissatisfaction at their relative inability to vote upon ASA matters, it would appear that such groups did not consider the formation of a network of local centres to be an appropriate solution. Sinclair and Henry (1893) were both ASA delegates during this period. They argued that attempts by some members of the ASA to encourage the

formation of a network of local centres throughout England had proved to be ineffective. Yet the members of some provincial clubs continued to call for greater representation and/or self-determination in the management of competitive swimming. For example, the following comments were published in the *Liverpool Mercury* (6 April 1889):

The question of the formation of an amateur swimming association for Lancashire and Cheshire has been engaging the attention of Liverpool swimmers for some time. The considerations that have led them to view the proposal favourably are several. In the first place, they have regard to the importance of Lancashire and Cheshire as centres of the swimming art, and the magnitude of the swimming interest in those counties. In Liverpool alone there are at least seven clubs of good standing, with an average membership of about 100, and prizes to the value of several hundreds of pounds are competed for in the neighbourhood annually. They take account of the expense and loss of time incurred when they have to attend association meetings, or championship contests at London; and they are not sure that the interests of amateur swimmers in Lancashire and Cheshire are so fully understood or regarded in other minor respects by the executive of the A.S.A. as they are entitled to be... They do not impute bias or partiality to the executive of the A.S.A., but they contend that a local association would be better able to deal with local questions on their merits than in the present executive of the National Association. Whether the proposed local association should be a separate body from, or a branch of, the National Association is a detail of little moment; the essential thing would be that both associations should work harmoniously together, each recognising the independent decrees and judgements of the other.

Such concerns contributed to the emergence of a movement, amongst the members of some northern clubs, for the creation of a separate governing body for competitive swimming in the North of England. A meeting was held in Liverpool on the 25 April 1889 between the representatives of six Liverpool swimming clubs. The delegates at this meeting cited 'the recent high-handed action of the Amateur Swimming Association in connection with two popular galas in Manchester' and 'the treatment of north-country swimmers in general' as reasons to consider the formation of a separate governing body (*Liverpool Mercury*, 25 April 1889). This motion was approved and another meeting was arranged to take place in Manchester two days later. The Northern Counties Amateur Swimming Association (NCASA) was formed at this meeting in

Manchester and twenty-six northern clubs became affiliated as founder members (*York Herald*, 29 April 1889, p.8).

Swimming was not the only sport in which there were power-struggles between different groups in northern and southern areas of the country during the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Independent northern associations were formed in activities such as athletics and cross-country running during these periods (Huggins, 2004). There were also ongoing power-struggles between different groups in northern and southern areas of the country in activities such as football and rugby owing to the emergence of professionalism amongst some northern clubs. Southern amateurs had initially resisted the emergence of professionalism amongst some clubs in northern England and the midlands during the 1870s. However, there was an increasing trend towards the professionalization of football as members of the southern-dominated Football Association (FA) gradually adopted a more conciliatory approach to northern professionalism from the 1880s after several northern clubs briefly formed their own rival governing body in order to allow the payment of players by those clubs that operated under their jurisdiction. The adoption of a more conciliatory approach amongst members of the FA provided a basis for: (a) the professionalization of football; and (b) football to remain unified under the jurisdiction of the FA (see Dunning and Sheard, 2005). Just over a decade later, members of the Rugby Football Union (RFU) continued to oppose the emergence of professionalism amongst northern rugby clubs. Such developments contributed to the split in 1895 between amateur Rugby Union in the south of England and professional Rugby League in the north (see Dunning and Sheard, 2005).

The fact that there were disagreements in several sports between different groups in northern and southern areas of the country during the late nineteenth century can be linked to a range of wider social processes. The latter decades of the nineteenth century was a period of increasing class tension in England (Dunning and Sheard, 2005). Many of the interweaving processes and power-struggles underpinning the emergence of increasing class-tensions have already been examined in greater detail in the previous chapter. It was argued that there had been a shift in the balance of power between the upper classes and the emerging middle classes during the course of the nineteenth century in favour of the latter. Such developments were linked to lengthening chains of interdependence and related interweaving processes of industrialization, urbanization

and embourgeoisement. But the key point, for present purposes, is that the emerging middle classes were not a homogeneous group. Many members of the middle classes in southern areas of the country were employed in professional occupations in areas such as finance and medicine and had often received a public school education alongside members of the aristocracy and gentry. This differed to the situation in northern England where many members of the emerging middle classes were successful industrialists (see Dunning and Sheard, 2005; van Bottenburg, 2001). Dunning and Sheard (2005) argued that this distinction was important for understanding the different attitudes amongst members of the middle classes in northern and southern areas of the country to the emergence of professionalism within some contemporary sports. The secession of northern clubs within competitive swimming was not based upon disagreements over the amateur/professional status of competitors. However, it is important to appreciate that the emerging class-tensions of these periods also contributed to a strengthening of some regional rivalries and particularly to notions of a north/south divide within England (Huggins, 2004). With lengthening chains of interdependence throughout the wider social network, there was a concomitant trend towards greater interdependence between northern and southern areas of the country during the course of the nineteenth century. In accordance with the shifting balance of power in favour of the emerging middle classes, many industrialists in the north of England gradually came to enjoy greater power-chances and became more willing to question traditional assumptions of London governance. Such developments also came to be reflected in the government of some contemporary sports:

the provinces, and especially northern England, had begun to assert their political, social and economic claims as the industrial revolution developed, fostering resistance towards London's metropolitan dominance and arrogance, and to the rule of national organising governing bodies... In wider British society there were always bitter complaints that London knew next to nothing about the provincial cities, with their supposed lack of cultivation and polish, and such complaints were echoed in sport (Huggins, 2004, p.207-208).

It was the ability of London delegates to understand and govern competitive swimming in northern regions that had been questioned prior to the secession of northern clubs from the ASA in 1889. The formation of the NCASA was indicative of the fact that members of the northern middle classes – in accordance with the shifting power-

relations of these periods – now felt more capable and better suited to undertake the management of competitive swimming in their own region.

It was within the context of these wider interweaving processes that the NCASA had been established. The inaugural meeting of the NCASA had been held in Manchester on the same evening that the annual meeting of the ASA had been held in London. Telegrams had been exchanged between these two meetings and three representatives had been elected by members of the ASA in order to meet with delegates of the newly formed NCASA (*York Herald*, 29 April 1889, p.8). Hunter, Sinclair and Henry subsequently travelled to Manchester in order to negotiate with the NCASA at a meeting on the 18 May 1889 (*York Herald*, 20 May 1889, p.7). Sinclair and Henry (1893, p.321) later described the negotiations that had taken place at this meeting and argued that members of the NCASA had been ‘utterly unprepared for the scheme which the A.S.A. delegates had to unfold’. In basic terms, these three representatives had been authorized by the ASA to outline a proposed system of government in which England and Wales would be divided into three district associations known as the NCASA, the Midland Counties Amateur Swimming Association (MCASA) and the Southern Counties Amateur Swimming Association (SCASA).² The members of these district associations would be responsible for the management of competitive swimming within their own region. However, all three districts would operate under the jurisdiction of the ASA, which would remain the NGB of competitive swimming. The members of each district association would be expected to operate under the same rules and regulations and to implement centralized ASA laws. The location for the annual meeting of the ASA would alternate between each district association on a three-year cycle. Likewise, the management of most ASA championship events would alternate between each district association.

The apparent willingness of the ASA to offer such concessions before any negotiations had taken place is interesting given the relative apathy that had previously been shown, amongst some delegates, to the issue of provincial voting. It would seem that members of the ASA viewed the secession of northern clubs as a serious threat. Indeed, the formation of the NCASA was later described as the ‘greatest revolt ever made against the jurisdiction of the governing body’ (Sinclair and Henry, 1893, p.322). The newly

² The proposed boundaries for these district associations were not outlined within these sources. Welsh swimming clubs were still affiliated to the ASA during these periods. An independent Welsh ASA was later established in c.1897 (*ASA Minutes: 1893-1902*, 13 March 1897).

formed NCASA was a rival governing body with the potential to expand and to challenge the jurisdiction of the ASA in provincial areas. If members of the NCASA proved to be successful in their venture, it would have been feasible that their actions might encourage likeminded groups in other areas of the country to form their own governing bodies. In other words, the formation of the NCASA would have raised concern at the possible dissolution of the ASA into a larger number of competing associations. Members of the ASA would also have been concerned that the secession of northern clubs was taking place only three years after the schism between the SAGB and ASU had finally been resolved, as discussed in Chapter 7. The formation of the NCASA would once again have raised the prospect of conflict between two rival governing bodies to the possible detriment of the continued development of competitive swimming. Within this context, the formation of separate district associations appears to have been viewed as a necessary concession in order to ensure that the ASA continued to operate as the NGB of competitive swimming in England. The various ASA proposals were debated before members of the NCASA voted to accept the terms that had been outlined (Sinclair and Henry, 1893). The three-district system was recommended for formal adoption following discussions between representatives of the NCASA and the newly formed MCASA and SCASA in the final months of 1889 (*York Herald*, 25 November 1889, p.8).

The introduction of the three-district scheme was indicative of a notable shift in the balance of power within competitive swimming. London clubs had previously enjoyed greater representation in the management of competitive swimming following the emergence of the newly constituted ASA in 1886. However, the formation of the NCASA, MCASA and SCASA provided a basis for provincial delegates to enjoy greater power-chances as many of the organizational duties of the ASA were devolved to district level. By the early 1890s it was argued that ‘the various district bodies were free for energetic work near home’ (Sinclair and Henry, 1893, p.323). The increasing role that was played by district associations in the government of competitive swimming was indicative of an important shift in the balance of power. The ASA continued to operate as the NGB of competitive swimming in England and, in this role, continued to enjoy considerable influence at national level. However, it would appear that it was no longer necessary for ASA meetings to be held with the same regularity with many organizational duties now undertaken at district level. Meetings of the predecessor bodies of the ASA had generally been held on a monthly basis throughout

the period between 1869 and 1886 (see *ASA Minute Book No. 1: 1869-1873; Minute Book No. 2 of the MSA; ASA/SAGB Minute Book No. 3; Minute Book No. 4 of the SAGB*). It has not been possible to determine whether this trend continued following the formation of the ASA due to the minutes for the period between 1886 and 1894 being unavailable. Yet it is clear that by the mid-1890s the ASA operated predominantly on the basis of an annual meeting between NCASA, MCASA and SCASA delegates (see *ASA Minutes: 1893-1902*). An ASA Emergency Committee – composed of the honorary secretary of the ASA and two elected delegates from each district association – also met on several occasions throughout the year in order to discuss any matters or issues that had been referred to them (see *ASA Committee Minutes*). However, the decisions of the Emergency Committee were provisional rulings that remained subject to discussion and revision at the next annual meeting of the ASA.

The decline in the number of ASA meetings that were held each year appears to have coincided with the increasing role of district associations in the management of competitive swimming. In itself, this is indicative of the fact that many organizational duties were now undertaken at district level and is symptomatic of the emergence of greater hierarchical interdependence between national and district levels. But the introduction of the new district scheme also appears to have facilitated the involvement of larger numbers of provincial delegates in the activities of the NGB. Many provincial delegates had previously struggled to attend the more frequent ASA meetings that were held in London, but under the new district scheme there was only the annual meeting of the ASA for the majority of delegates to attend. In addition, the location of the annual meeting now also alternated between each district association. For example, the annual meeting was held in London in 1890, Liverpool in 1891 and Birmingham in 1892 (*Yorkshire Herald, and the York Herald*, 14 April 1890, p.8; *The Licensed Victuallers' Mirror*, 7 April 1891, p.161; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25 April 1892). In accordance with such developments, there appears to have been a gradual trend towards greater provincial representation in meetings of the ASA. It is not possible to provide definitive numbers to illustrate such developments due, again, to the fact that the minute book from the period between 1886 and 1894 was unavailable during the course of this research. The exact number of northern, midland and southern counties delegates that were entitled to attend the annual meeting of the ASA was linked to the number of clubs that were affiliated to their district association (Sinclair and Henry, 1893). Given that membership of the SCASA continued to be largely dominated by clubs from London, it

is likely that many southern counties delegates would still have been representatives of London clubs during these periods (see SCASA, 1898). Nevertheless, it is evident that reasonable numbers of delegates from the northern and midland counties were attending the annual meetings of the ASA by the mid-to-late 1890s (see table 8.1).³

Table 8.1: Attendance at the Annual Meetings of the ASA, 1894-1901

	SCASA Delegates	NCASA Delegates	MCASA Delegates	Ex-Officials
14 April 1894	16	20	11	N/A
30 March 1895	25	22	13	N/A
28 March 1896	22	23	14	N/A
13 March 1897	31	22	17	N/A
12 March 1898	32	22	16	N/A
25 March 1899	30	20	17	N/A
24 March 1900	13	9	8	3
16 March 1901	27	21	13	5

Source: *ASA Minutes: 1893-1902* (14 April 1894; 30 March 1895; 28 March 1896; 13 March 1897; 12 March 1898; 25 March 1899; 24 March 1900; 16 March 1901).

London clubs had previously enjoyed a relative monopoly of power in the government of competitive swimming under the auspices of the ASA, but the formation of district associations was indicative of lengthening chains of interdependence within the swimming-based network. As larger numbers of people gradually became involved in the government of competitive swimming at both national and district levels, there was a concomitant trend towards a relative decline in the power-chances of London delegates during these periods as they gradually became enmeshed in an increasingly complex network of interdependencies.

³ It is not possible to calculate the exact number of delegates that each district association would have been entitled to send to the annual meeting of the ASA on the basis of surviving data. However, there is evidence to indicate that the SCASA remained the largest district association throughout this period and the NCASA the second largest (see *ASA Minutes: 1893-1902*). This would indicate that some southern counties delegates had failed to attend the ASA meetings of 1894 and 1896. The constitutional rules for representation at ASA meetings had been revised prior to the meetings of 1900 and 1901 (*ASA Minutes: 1893-1902*, 25 March 1899; 24 March 1900). This is the main reason underpinning the discrepancy in attendance at ASA meetings during these years as well as the institution of the right for ex-officials to attend annual meetings.

8.3 Hierarchical Interdependence at National, District, County and Local Levels

The three-district scheme continued to be utilized in the management of competitive swimming until 1901 when the number of district associations was increased to five. Other authors have commented only briefly upon the emergence of five district associations (see Keil and Wix, 1996; Love, 2003; Parker, 2003). The inclusion of only a few brief comments in order to convey such developments is problematic. Indeed, it can be argued that such authors have oversimplified the range of processes that occurred during these periods. It is important to examine the emergence of the five district associations as this also contributed to the emergence of several county associations and local centres. In this manner, it is possible to demonstrate that there was a gradual trend towards greater hierarchical interdependence between the various groups that operated at national, district, county or local centre and club level during these periods. In addition, it can be shown that such developments were reflected in the emergence of competitive events under the jurisdiction of these various groups. By the early years of the twentieth century there was an increasing hierarchy of competitive events that were recognized as national, district and county or local centre championships. Other authors have not examined such developments. Yet it is important to consider such issues in order to provide a more adequate basis for understanding the extent to which competitive swimming was gradually becoming more organized during these periods.

The introduction of the three-district scheme in 1889 and the shifting balance of power within competitive swimming were important developments in a gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence within the swimming-based network. With increasing opportunities for the members of provincial clubs to engage in the management of competitive swimming at national and district level, there appears to have been a concomitant trend towards greater interest in the activities of the ASA during the course of the 1890s. This trend was bolstered by those individuals who operated at district level and who were responsible for encouraging the development of competitive swimming within their district. One task undertaken by the members of district associations was to encourage larger numbers of clubs in their region to become affiliated to the ASA. For example, members of the SCASA issued a formal invitation to all swimming clubs in Devon and Cornwall in the latter stages of 1890 to become affiliated to the ASA via the district association (*Trewman's Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser*, 22 November 1890). It was later noted that several

clubs had joined the ASA at the outset of the following season (*The Licensed Victuallers' Mirror*, 10 February 1891, p.65). Such developments contributed to lengthening chains of interdependence within competitive swimming during these periods. However, it is also important to place the developments that occurred during these periods within a wider social context. For example, it is important to note that public baths facilities had continued to be built throughout England during the second half of the nineteenth century. In the early years of the twentieth century the ASA attempted to determine the number of public baths that were currently available across the country. It was noted that members of the ASA had experienced difficulties in gaining information from some areas. Nevertheless, the ASA did compile a list of the public baths that were known to be in operation throughout England at the outset of 1902 (see table 8.2).

Table 8.2: Number of Public Baths Facilities in England, 1902

Location	Number of Public Baths Facilities
Bedford	2
Berkshire	1
Buckingham	3
Cambridgeshire	1
Cheshire	11
Cornwall	2
Cumberland	2
Derbyshire	5
Devon	3
Dorset	0
Durham	5
Essex	2
Gloucester	11
Hampshire and the Isle of Wight	5
Herefordshire	1
Hertfordshire	3
Huntingdonshire	0
Isle of Man	2
Kent	8
Lancashire	75
Leicester	6
Lincoln	4
London	55
Norfolk	2
Northamptonshire	2
Northumberland	4
Nottingham	4
Oxford	2
Rutland	0
Shropshire	1
Somerset	7
Stafford	7
Suffolk	3
Surrey	5
Sussex	5
Warwickshire	9
Westmoreland	1
Wiltshire	4
Worcester	2
Yorkshire	38
TOTAL	303

Source: ASA (1902)

Some areas of the country continued to be better catered for than others in the provision of public baths. In particular, it is evident that there were relatively large concentrations of such facilities in London and amongst the various cities and mill-towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire during these periods. Although other areas might not have invested in public baths facilities to the same extent, it is important to appreciate that there had been a notable increase in the number of public baths throughout England during the course of the nineteenth century. These data are indicative of a continued trend towards the ‘indoorisation’ of the general activities of swimming and bathing (van Bottenburg and Salome, 2010, p.144). Such developments were linked, in previous chapters, to a range of interweaving processes that included: (a) increasing concerns amongst some members of the upper and middle classes towards issues of health, cleanliness and the welfare of the working classes within industrial towns and cities; (b) an increasing desire to hide instances of open-nudity whilst people were swimming and bathing behind closed doors; (c) an increasing desire to provide safer and more controllable locations for swimming and bathing to occur; and (d) ongoing technological advances. Given the increasing provision of public baths within many towns and cities during the nineteenth century, it is evident that larger numbers of people would gradually have had access to such facilities. On this basis, it is likely that increasing numbers would gradually have learnt to swim. This latter point is implicit in the increasing number of swimming clubs that became affiliated to the ASA during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see figure 8.1).

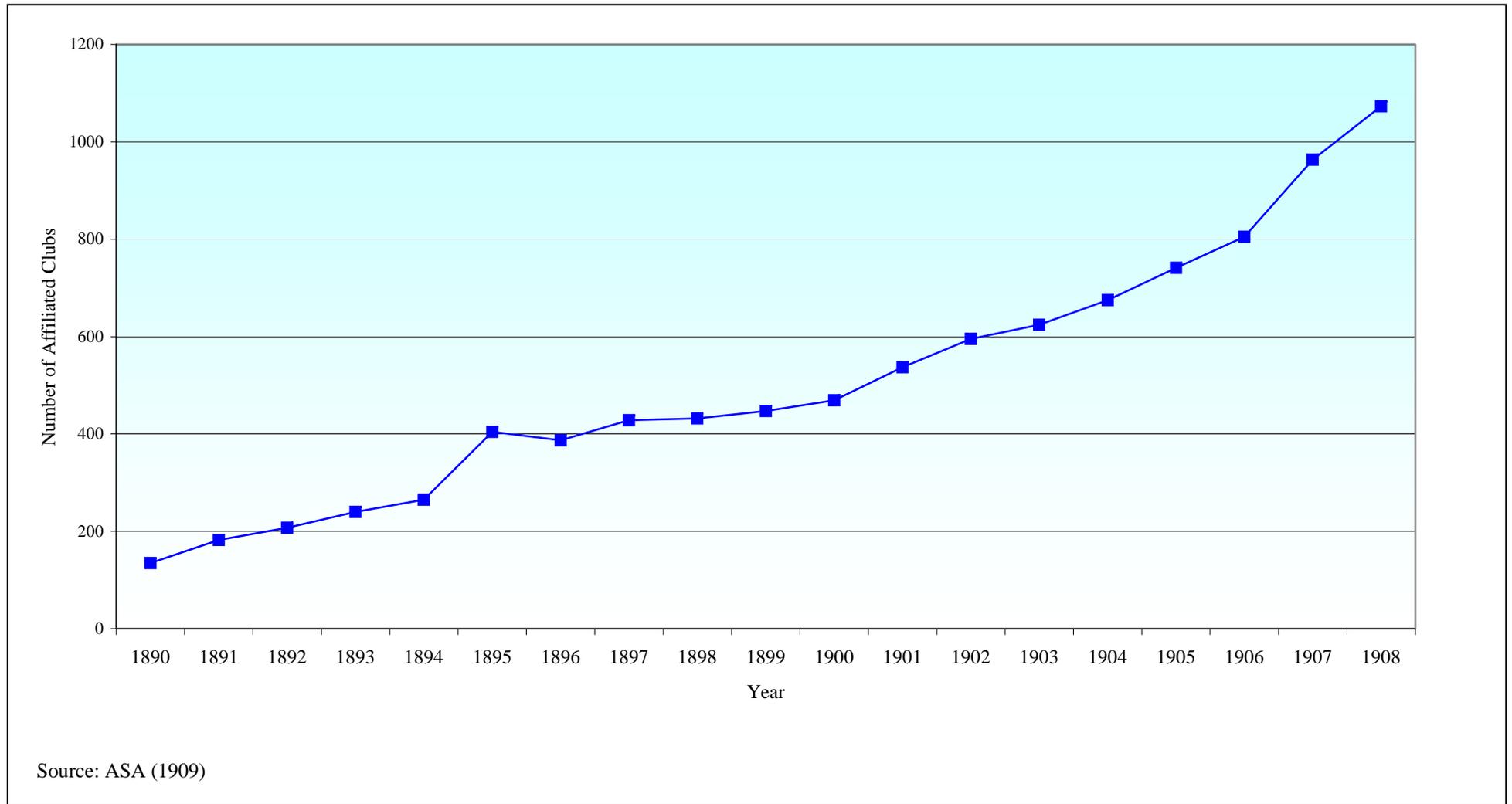


Figure 8.1: Number of Clubs Affiliated to the ASA, 1890-1908

On the basis of these data, it would seem likely that larger numbers of people were learning to swim and, as in previous eras, were taking advantage of the increasing availability of public baths in order to establish larger numbers of swimming clubs. The interweaving of these various processes – alongside the emergence of district associations and the shifting balance of power in the government of competitive swimming – appear to have contributed to a notable increase in the number of clubs that were affiliated to the ASA over these periods. However, there were unintended consequences to such developments. As increasing numbers of clubs gradually became affiliated to the ASA, there was a concomitant trend towards increasing tension, within some district associations, over the relative power that was enjoyed by different groups at district level. For example, the members of some clubs in the north-east of England expressed their dissatisfaction in the early 1890s at the fact that NCASA meetings were held predominantly in Liverpool and stated their intention to form a separate association for the government of competitive swimming within their own region (*Newcastle Weekly Courant*, 12 December 1891). There is no further evidence to indicate whether any north-eastern clubs did secede from the NCASA. However, this was not the only example of dissatisfaction amongst some northern clubs during the early 1890s. It was also reported that twenty-seven swimming clubs in Yorkshire were keen to secede from the NCASA in order to form their own district association under the jurisdiction of the ASA (*Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 11 March 1893, p.7). Their proposal was brought before the annual meeting of the NCASA in 1893, but was rejected on the grounds that Yorkshire clubs would have to follow the correct constitutional procedures if they wished to take this matter further. In other words, the request for Yorkshire clubs to be allowed to form a separate district association would have to be brought before members of the NCASA, MCASA and SCASA before it would be possible for any type of motion to be tabled for the existing district boundaries to be reconsidered at a future meeting of the ASA (*Liverpool Mercury*, 13 March 1893).

The desire for greater self-determination amongst some clubs in Yorkshire and the north-east is indicative of the importance of regional rivalries in some areas of the country during these periods. The formation of the NCASA had provided a basis for northern clubs to enjoy greater representation in the management of competitive swimming. In this sense, the formation of the NCASA had been based upon emergent power-struggles in accordance with contemporary notions of a north/south or a London/provincial divide within England. However, it is important to appreciate that

notions of 'north' and 'south' were not the only regional distinctions to be drawn during these periods. Regional variation and rivalry was also inherent within many areas of England at local, town and county levels (Huggins, 2004). The desire for greater self-determination in competitive swimming within some northern areas was indicative of traditional rivalries and power-struggles at county level. Dunning and Sheard (2005, p.240) have argued that sport 'lends itself to group identification, more precisely, to "in-group" and "out-group" formation on a variety of levels... [which] means that it can serve as a means for the expression of regional and other group identifications'. The calls for greater self-determination amongst some Yorkshire and north-eastern delegates within competitive swimming are indicative of this type of in-group formation. Such groups appear to have been concerned at the relative power that was enjoyed by north-western clubs – from areas such as Lancashire, Manchester and Merseyside – within the NCASA. In basic terms, swimming clubs in the north-west of England came to be viewed as the 'other' or the 'out-group' by some clubs in Yorkshire and the north-east. The notion of a shared county identity provided a basis for the members of likeminded clubs in Yorkshire and in the north-east to call for the formation of their own district associations.

The notion of a shared county identity was particularly evident amongst Yorkshire delegates during these periods. Yorkshire had become known as a major sporting area in activities such as cricket, football, horseracing, pedestrianism and rugby during the course of the nineteenth century (Huggins, 2004). Such processes contributed to the strengthening of a Yorkshire in-group identity as stereotypes of Yorkshire sporting prowess fused with traditional county rivalries. Within the context of these interweaving processes, many Yorkshire delegates were unwilling to accept the current situation in which north-western clubs were believed to enjoy greater power-chances within the NCASA. Yorkshire clubs continued to call for the formation of their own district association throughout the 1890s.

The formation of a separate district association for Yorkshire had been rebuffed at the annual meeting of the NCASA in 1893 on the grounds that Yorkshire delegates would have to follow the correct constitutional procedures if they wished to launch this type of appeal. However, permission had been granted for the formation of a Yorkshire Centre to operate under the jurisdiction of the NCASA (*Isle of Man Times and General Advertiser*, 21 March 1893, p.4; *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, 26 April 1893, p.4). At

the next annual meeting of the NCASA in 1894 it was noted that formal regulations had been ratified for the creation of local centres to operate under the jurisdiction of the NCASA and that permission had been granted for the formation of a Yorkshire Local Centre (*Yorkshire Herald, and the York Herald*, 5 March 1894, p.3). The new local centre regulations appear to have supplanted the existing arrangements between Yorkshire clubs and the NCASA. It was now claimed that members of the newly formed Yorkshire Local Centre enjoyed ‘full powers delegated by the N.C.A.S.A.’ to undertake the management of competitive swimming in Yorkshire (*North-Eastern Daily Gazette*, 2 April 1894). In theory, the formation of a local centre provided a basis for the members of local clubs to enjoy greater representation in the management of competitive swimming within their local region. However, it is important to appreciate that the formation of local centres was based upon the premise that such groups remained under the jurisdiction of their district association. For example, it was later noted that certain responsibilities such as those to ‘suspend and reinstate’ had been ‘refused when the [Local] Centre Rules were passed by the N.C.A.S.A.’ (*Swimming*, 29 August 1895, p.309). Although some minor tasks and responsibilities might have been devolved to local centre level, the formation of the Yorkshire Local Centre did not involve a large-scale shift in the balance of power between district and local centre level. It would seem that many members of the NCASA were keen to maintain their relative authority over their existing territories. The formation of local centres was a means of signifying that some minor responsibilities had been devolved to local centre level, but this appears to have been a rather nominal gesture in practice. Just over one year following their formation, members of the Yorkshire Local Centre continued to argue that the devolution of greater powers was required in order to allow them to govern their local region effectively (*Swimming*, 9 May 1895, p.90; 27 June 1895, p.181). This is indicative of the fact that the government of competitive swimming within the northern counties was still based predominantly upon decisions that were made at district level. Indeed, members of the Yorkshire Local Centre now argued that the devolution of greater powers from the NCASA could only be viewed as a short-term remedy. The longer-term aim for members of the Yorkshire Local Centre was to continue to campaign for the formation of a larger number of district associations (*Swimming*, 9 May 1895, p.90; 20 June 1895, p.160; 27 June 1895, p.181; 29 August 1895, p.309-310).

It was not only in the northern counties that the formation of in-group county identities contributed to the emergence of power-struggles within competitive swimming during

these periods. Greater representation in the government of competitive swimming was also a matter of increasing concern in the southern counties as larger numbers of clubs gradually became affiliated to the ASA. The main debate was based upon whether the most appropriate form of government within competitive swimming should involve an expansion of the number of district associations or the creation of larger numbers of local centres. There were instances in which local centres had been formed during these periods. For example, members of the SCASA had been asked to consider a request from various clubs who wished to form a Sussex Local Centre (*Swimming*, 5 September 1895, p.334). This petition was granted and the Sussex Local Centre was founded in 1895 (SCASA, 1898). However, there were also calls in some southern areas for the introduction of a larger number of district associations. In particular, some clubs in the south-west of England argued in favour of the formation of their own district association rather than a collection of west-country local centres (*Swimming*, 11 April 1895, p.37-38; 2 May 1895, p.70; 18 July 1895, p.226). It has already been noted that membership of the SCASA had continued to be dominated by London clubs throughout the 1890s (see SCASA, 1898). The desire for greater representation in the government of competitive swimming within some southern and south-western counties appears to be indicative of a strengthening of some in-group county identities against the London 'other' as well as reflecting contemporary notions of a London/provincial divide within England.

It was within this context that a motion was introduced for members of the SCASA to debate the possible formation of a larger number of district associations throughout England and Wales. Several potential schemes were outlined by members of the SCASA during 1895 for the country to potentially be divided into five, six or perhaps even nine district associations under the jurisdiction of the ASA (*Swimming*, 18 April 1895, p.50-51; 13 June 1895, p.149). Advocates of these schemes argued that:

the present arrangement pleases no one. The distance of many from the seat of Government shuts out good men from office and strangles all active interest in the work of amateur swimming... It is time for every county to consider these matters, as they affect the art in their locality, and no longer submit to being governed on the principle of a series of dislocated spasms (*Swimming*, 13 June 1895, p.149).

These various schemes were eventually brought before a meeting of the SCASA in July 1895. The potential introduction of five district associations was deemed to be the most straightforward and practical of the various schemes on offer at this meeting. Following discussion, it was decided that all clubs in the SCASA should be balloted on whether it was desirable to divide the southern counties in order to allow south-western clubs to form their own district association (*Swimming*, 25 July 1895, p.233-234).

There were mixed opinions amongst southern clubs over the relative merits of district associations and local centres (see *Swimming*, 1 August 1895, p.250; 15 August 1895, p.282-283; 22 August 1895, p.304). Nevertheless, it was later reported that southern clubs had voted to recommend the proposed five-district scheme for further discussion amongst members of the ASA (*Swimming*, 17 October 1895, p.423). It was also argued that members of the MCASA were 'distinctly favourable to the new five-district scheme' and that NCASA delegates had 'pledged themselves to bring forward and support the proposal when it comes before the annual meeting of that body [the ASA] next March' (*Swimming*, 7 November 1895, p.461-462). Under the constitutional rules of the ASA it would have been necessary for two-thirds of the assembled delegates to vote in favour of the five-district scheme when it was brought before the annual meeting of the ASA in 1896. When a ballot was taken, thirty delegates voted in favour of the proposal and twenty-eight against (*ASA Minutes: 1893-1902*, 28 March 1896). Even though a small majority of the assembled delegates had voted in favour of the five-district scheme, it is evident that many others were keen to retain the existing district boundaries. The voting patterns of delegates at this meeting were not recorded within the minutes. However, it is evident that acceptance of the five-district scheme would have meant that many delegates in the northern and southern counties would have seen large sections of their existing territories being allowed to secede in order to form two new district associations in the north-east and south-west of England. Although this was a desirable outcome for many clubs in areas such as Yorkshire and the West Country, the introduction of five district associations would have resulted in a shifting balance of power at district level. It would seem that many ASA delegates within the existing district associations remained unwilling to sanction a scheme in which they would be expected to relinquish vast areas of the country that currently operated under their jurisdiction.

The failure of ASA delegates to implement the five-district scheme in 1896 contributed to ongoing power-struggles over the following years as the members of many clubs in the southern and northern counties continued to call for greater representation in the government of competitive swimming. In some instances, this involved the formation of additional local centres. For example, it was noted that a Devon Local Centre had been formed under the jurisdiction of the SCASA in 1897 (SCASA, 1898). Similarly, a North-East Coast Local Centre was also known to be operating under the jurisdiction of the NCASA during the late 1890s (*Swimming Magazine*, 1 June 1898, p.3). Yet there were also many delegates in northern and southern areas who continued to argue in favour of the introduction of larger numbers of district associations rather than an expansion of the local centre system. In particular, this was an argument that continued to be advocated by clubs from Yorkshire.

The Yorkshire Local Centre had been disbanded by the NCASA during the final months of 1895 after it was argued that their members had failed to implement an NCASA ruling that a professional swimmer should not be allowed to handicap amateur events. Members of the Yorkshire Local Centre argued that their practices had changed after this ruling and that this individual was no longer utilized as a handicapper. Nevertheless, the Yorkshire Local Centre was disbanded on a vote of twenty-four delegates to nineteen (*Swimming*, 7 November 1895, p.461). It is interesting to question whether some members of the NCASA might have been waiting for an excuse to disband the Yorkshire Local Centre in an effort to stifle their calls for the formation of a separate district association. In any event, members of the Yorkshire Local Centre had already stated their intention to withdraw from the NCASA if their desire for a separate district association was not met at the next annual meeting of the ASA (*Swimming*, 29 August 1895, p.310). Many Yorkshire clubs did subsequently withdraw from the NCASA after ASA delegates had voted down the five-district scheme in 1896. These clubs formed an independent Yorkshire Swimming Association and then applied to rejoin the ASA as a separate district association in 1897 and 1898. Both of these applications were rejected (see *ASA Committee Minutes*, 2 May 1896; *ASA Minutes: 1893-1902*, 13 March 1897; 12 March 1898). At the outset of 1899 it was argued that:

It is to be regretted that something cannot be done whereby the Yorkshire A.S.A. can once more be brought into line with the general body of swimmers throughout the country. As the case at present stands, no Yorkshire swimmer, who is

affiliated only to the above association, is allowed to compete in any open event that takes place outside the county of broadacres... We believe the N.C.A.S.A. are prepared to sacrifice a deal to get them once more back into the fold. Yorkshire are obdurate, and will not be satisfied unless granted a separate district, with full powers to act and govern their own swimmers the same as the North, South, and Midlands, hence the deadlock. The A.S.A. cannot divide itself until the three component parts agree that there shall be more than three districts into which England shall be divided (*Swimming Magazine*, 1 February 1899, p.77).

It is unclear what type of agreement might have been reached with the NCASA, but members of the Yorkshire Swimming Association later agreed to rejoin the ASA for the coming season in 1900 (*ASA Committee Minutes*, Committee's Report for 1899). This provided a basis for clubs in Yorkshire and the south-west of England to continue to press for reform of the current district system. At the outset of 1900 it was noted that thirty-eight clubs in the south-west had submitted a request for the formation of their own district association (*ASA Minutes: 1893-1902*, 24 March 1900). Their application was supported by clubs in Yorkshire who continued to argue in favour of the introduction of a larger number of district associations (*ASA Minutes: 1893-1902*, 24 March 1900). A scheme for the introduction of five district associations was prepared and brought before delegates at the annual meeting of the ASA in 1901. On this occasion the assembled delegates voted overwhelmingly to introduce the five-district scheme with only one vote submitted against the proposal (*ASA Minutes: 1893-1902*, 16 March 1901).

Details of the debate that had taken place between members of the ASA were not recorded within the minutes. Given the previous secession of Yorkshire clubs and the increasing desire amongst many south-western clubs for the formation of their own district association, perhaps there was increasing concern amongst ASA delegates that clubs within such areas might break away from the ASA if additional district associations were not introduced. Whatever the underpinning reasons, it is evident that by the early years of the twentieth century most ASA delegates were now willing to support the introduction of a larger number of district associations in order to facilitate the government and continued development of competitive swimming within England. The five-district scheme was subsequently implemented in 1901 as the existing district boundaries were reorganized and the Western Counties Amateur Swimming

Association (WCASA) and North-Eastern Counties Amateur Swimming Association (NECASA) were created (see table 8.3).

Table 8.3: ASA Five-District Scheme

SCASA	WCASA	MCASA	NCASA	NECASA
Berkshire	Cornwall	Bedford	Cheshire	Durham
Channel Islands	Devon	Buckinghamshire	Cumberland	Northumberland
Essex	Dorset	Cambridge	Derby (North)	Yorkshire
Hampshire	Gloucester	Derby (South)	Lancashire	
Kent	Somerset	Hereford	Isle of Man	
Middlesex	Wiltshire	Hertford	Stafford (North)	
Surrey		Huntingdon	Westmoreland	
Sussex		Leicester		
		Lincoln		
		Norfolk		
		Northampton		
		Nottingham		
		Oxford		
		Rutland		
		Shropshire		
		Stafford (South)		
		Suffolk		
		Warwick		
		Worcester		

Source: ASA (1902)

The strengthening of county in-group identities in areas such as Yorkshire and the south-west of England had contributed to these ongoing power-struggles over the formation of additional district associations during the late nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century. The formation of local centres within such areas had been an important aspect in the strengthening of county in-group identities within competitive swimming and had provided a basis for such groups to call for the formation of their own district associations. For this reason, it is important to appreciate that the formation of the NECASA and WCASA in 1901 did not result in the dissolution of these existing local centres. These groups continued to operate under the jurisdiction of their newly formed district associations and, in some instances, assumed the title of county associations. The continued existence of county associations and local centres was an important indicator of a gradual trend towards greater hierarchical interdependence within competitive swimming. By the early years of the twentieth century competitive swimming was organized on the basis of an increasingly complex network of interdependencies at four discernable levels: (a) national; (b) district; (c) county; and (d) local (see figure 8.2). Although there have been further developments throughout the intervening period, these four basic levels are still evident within competitive swimming in England today.

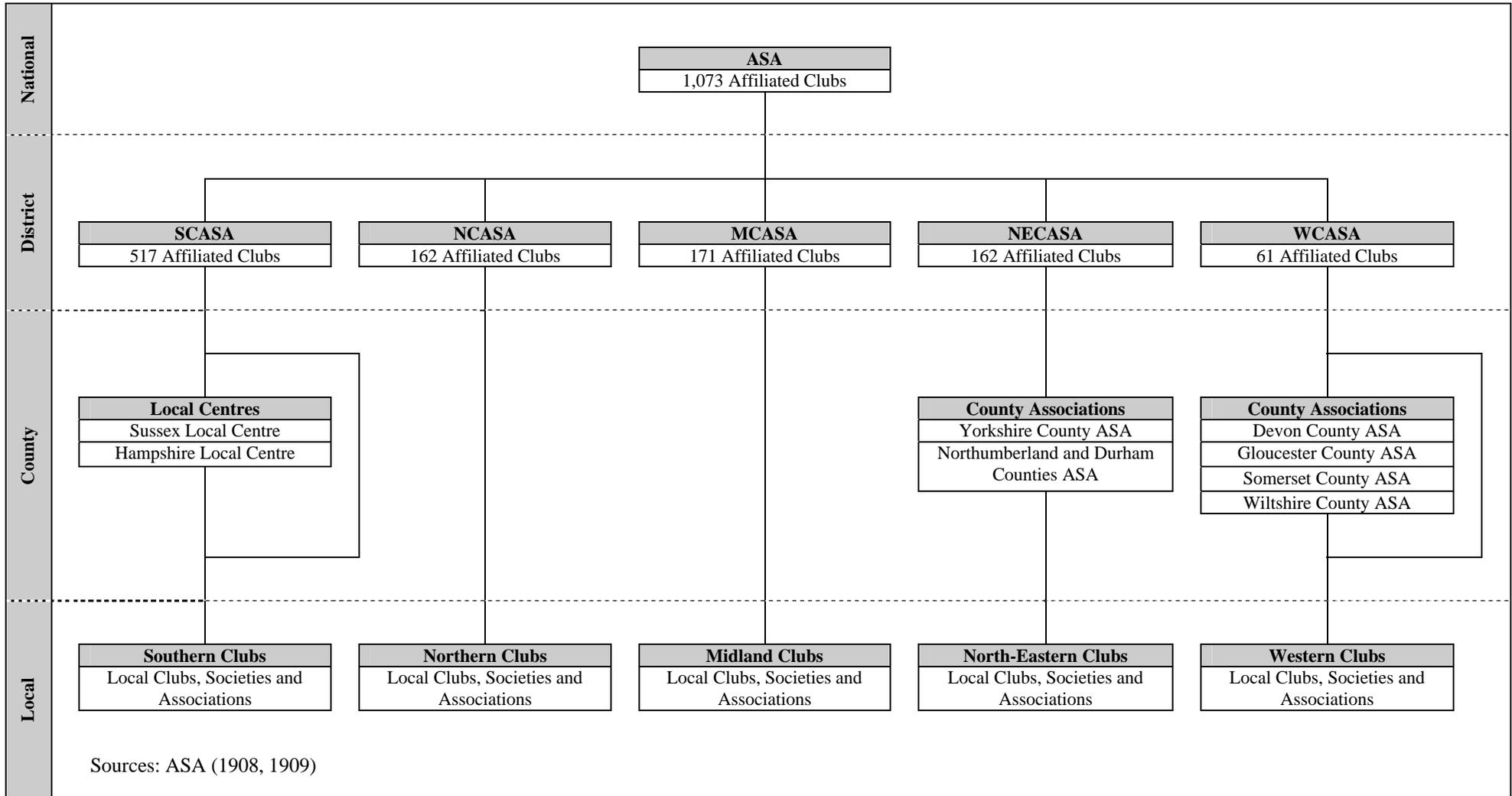


Figure 8.2: Competitive Swimming in England, c.1908

Other authors have not examined the emergence of these four levels of organization within competitive swimming. Yet it is only by examining such developments that it is possible to demonstrate the extent to which competitive swimming was gradually becoming more organized during the early years of the twentieth century. The ASA continued to operate as the NGB of competitive swimming in England within this increasingly complex network of interdependencies. A range of tasks continued to be undertaken at national level by members of the ASA. In particular, it was the responsibility of ASA delegates to set standardized laws for the management of competitive events and, when necessary, to revise or determine the correct interpretation of such laws. It was also the responsibility of the ASA to act as final arbiter in order to ensure that ASA laws were implemented at all levels of competition throughout the country. In addition, it was the duty of the ASA to maintain and ratify national records and to institute recognized national championships (ASA, 1902). By the early 1900s a range of national championships took place under the jurisdiction of the ASA on an annual basis (see table 8.4).

Table 8.4: ASA National Championships (Swimming), 1908

Event	Date Instituted
100 Yards	1878
220 Yards	1880
440 Yards Salt-Water Championship	1884
500 Yards	1878
Half-Mile	1881
One Mile	1869
Long-Distance (5-6 miles in the Thames)	1877
150 Yards Back Swimming	1903
200 Yards Breast Swimming	1903
Schoolboy Team (4 x 60-100 Yards Breast Stroke)	1896 (Breast Stroke from 1906)
Ladies 100 Yards	1901

Sources: ASA (1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909).

The ASA were still responsible for many of the tasks that were undertaken at national level, but it is important to appreciate that by the early 1900s the ASA was operating within an increasingly complex network of interdependencies. Many of the day-to-day organizational duties in the management of competitive swimming were now devolved to district level. For example, it was district associations that were responsible for ensuring that centralized ASA laws were implemented in all competitive events that took place within their territories. It was district associations that adjudicated any disputes and undertook the general management of competitive swimming within their

territories. Similarly, it was district associations that sat in judgement upon any individuals who were deemed to have transgressed ASA laws and that were authorized to implement periods of suspension and disqualification when such steps were necessary. District associations were also responsible for undertaking the management of whichever national championship events were assigned to their region within a particular season (see ASA, 1902). In this manner, it is evident that there had been a gradual trend towards greater hierarchical interdependence between national and district levels over these periods.

The nexus of interdependencies was more complex in those areas in which county associations and local centres were also operating. There do not appear to have been any local centres or county associations operating under the jurisdiction of the NCASA or MCASA during the early 1900s. Yet the formation of county associations and local centres under the jurisdiction of the SCASA, WCASA and NECASA provided a basis for many district responsibilities to be devolved even further to county level within certain areas. Local centres and county associations were responsible for ensuring that ASA laws were implemented at all events within their county boundaries. Such groups also undertook the general management of competitive swimming within their county boundaries and were even afforded the authority to implement periods of suspension and disqualification upon any competitors who failed to comply with ASA laws within their territories (see ASA, 1902). The formal hierarchy between these different groups remained evident in the fact that the ASA functioned as a final point of appeal against decisions that were made at district level whilst district associations operated as a point of appeal against any decisions that had been made at county level (see ASA, 1902). The ASA continued to enjoy a centralized monopoly of power at national level during the early 1900s. But it is important to appreciate that the management and government of competitive swimming throughout England was based upon a more complex network of interdependencies in which there was an increasing tendency towards greater hierarchical interdependence between the different groups that operated at national, district and county level.

The emergence of different levels of organization within competitive swimming was reflected in the type of events that were held during these periods. Whilst some authors have examined the emergence of a wider range of national championships during these periods (see Keil and Wix, 1996), the emergence of district and county championships

has been ignored. It is only by examining such developments that it is possible to demonstrate that by the early years of the twentieth century there was an increasing hierarchy of competitive events that were recognized as national, district and county championships. Thus, competitive swimming was becoming more organized during these periods and gradually beginning to take place at the same broad levels of organization that are still evident within modern competitive swimming. For example, increasing numbers of district championships were established under the jurisdiction of the SCASA, NCASA, MCASA and WCASA during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see table 8.5).

Table 8.5: ASA District Championships (Swimming), 1908

SCASA	
<i>Event</i>	<i>Date Instituted</i>
100 Yards	1895
150 Yards Championship of London	1891
220 Yards	1907
Quarter-Mile	1905
One Mile	1904
Team Swimming (6 x 100-134 Yards)	1906
London Schools Team Championship (6 x 2 Lengths)	1891
Boys (Under 15 Years) 100 Yards	1905
Ladies 100 Yards	1901
NCASA	
<i>Event</i>	<i>Date Instituted</i>
150 Yards	1889
440 Yards	1903
1,000 Yards	1892
Squadron (8 x 130-160 Yards)	1892
Ladies 100 Yards	1908
Ladies Squadron (6 x c.100 Yards)	1908
MCASA	
<i>Event</i>	<i>Date Instituted</i>
100 Yards	1898
220 Yards	1902
Quarter-Mile	1880
Half-Mile	1885
Team Swimming (6 x 90-120 Yards)	1894
Schoolboy Team (4 x 60-100 Yards Breast Stroke)	1903 (Breast Stroke from 1906)
Boys (Under 16 Years) 100 Yards	1905
Ladies 100 Yards	1896
WCASA	
<i>Event</i>	<i>Date Instituted</i>
100 Yards	1901
440 Yards	1902
Team Swimming (4 x 40-74, 80-148, 80-148, 120-222 Yards)	1901
Schoolboy Team (4 x 60-100 Yards)	1903
Boys (Under 16 Years) 50 Yards	1908
Ladies 50 Yards	1904

Sources: ASA (1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909).

No district championships were held under the jurisdiction of the NECASA during these periods. Instead, it was a requirement for all swimming clubs in the north-eastern counties to become affiliated to either the Yorkshire County ASA or the Northumberland and Durham County ASA. It was argued within the ASA handbook that greater emphasis was placed upon the devolution of responsibilities and the

management of competitive swimming at county level in the NECASA than in any other district of the ASA (ASA, 1902). It would seem that such developments reflected the relatively strong in-group county identities that had emerged within competitive swimming in the north-eastern counties of England during these periods. For this reason, greater emphasis also appears to have been placed upon the formation of separate county championships for Yorkshire and for Northumberland and Durham rather than district championships for the north-eastern region as a whole (see table 8.6).

Table 8.6: County Championships (Swimming) in the North-Eastern District, 1908

Yorkshire County ASA	
<i>Event</i>	<i>Date Instituted</i>
100 Yards	Unknown
100 Yards Back Stroke	1907
100 Yards Breast Stroke	1907
440 Yards	Unknown
One Mile	1908
Schoolboy Team (3 x 50-75 Yards Breast Stroke)	1899 (Breast Stroke from 1904)
Ladies 75 Yards	1899
Northumberland and Durham County ASA	
<i>Event</i>	<i>Date Instituted</i>
100 Yards	1905
200 Yards Breast Swimming	1906
440 Yards Salt-Water Championship	1903
Half-Mile Open Water Championship	1904
Team Swimming (6 x 2 Lengths or 6 x 50 Yards in Open Water)	1897
Schoolboy Team (4 x 20-40 Yards)	1898
Ladies 90 Yards	1898

Sources: ASA (1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909); *Swimming Magazine* (1 May 1899, p.104).

This situation differed to the hierarchy of events that had been established in the western and southern counties. It was noted above that a number of district championships had been established under the jurisdiction of the WCASA and SCASA during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Various county championships were also instituted within these areas. For example, a range of events had been established under the jurisdiction of the various county associations that were operating in the western counties during these periods (see table 8.7).

Table 8.7: County Championships (Swimming) in the Western District, 1908

Devon County ASA	
<i>Event</i>	<i>Date Instituted</i>
Victory Trophy (Competition for Working Lads Clubs)	1906
Team Swimming	1897
Elementary School Team Competition	1901
Gloucester County ASA	
<i>Event</i>	<i>Date Instituted</i>
100 Yards	c.1908
Team Race	c.1902
Somerset County ASA	
<i>Event</i>	<i>Date Instituted</i>
100 Yards	1902
Boys (Under 16 Years) Championship (2 Lengths of Bath)	1902
Wiltshire County ASA	
<i>Event</i>	<i>Date Instituted</i>
Elementary Schoolboy Team (3 x 35-70 Yards)	c.1908

Sources: ASA (1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909).

There were only two local centres operating under the jurisdiction of the SCASA in the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, the members of both of these local centres also instituted county-level championships during these periods (see table 8.8).

Table 8.8: Local Centre Championships (Swimming) in the Southern District, 1908

Sussex Local Centre	
<i>Event</i>	<i>Date Instituted</i>
120 Yards	1897
240 Yards	1897
500 Yards Salt-Water Back Swimming Championship	1908
Team Swimming (4 per team, distance dependent upon the length of the bath)	1903
Back Swimming Team Championship (4 x 4, 3, 2 and 1 Lengths)	1906
Hampshire Local Centre	
<i>Event</i>	<i>Date Instituted</i>
220 Yards	1908

Sources: ASA (1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909).

It is evident from these various data that increasing numbers of championship events were established at national, district and county levels during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition, there was another level of competition that continued to take place throughout the country. It is evident from contemporary

coverage that individual swimming clubs also continued to hold their own competitive events, championships and races at local levels (see *Swimming*, 13 March 1895 – 7 November 1895; *Swimming Magazine*, 1 June 1898 – 1 May 1899; *Swimming News*, 1 June 1907 – 22 June 1907).

The emergence of a formal hierarchy of administration, government and competitive events at national, district, county and local levels is indicative of the increasing complexity of the growing network of interdependencies within competitive swimming during these periods. Such developments were important in the emergence of swimming as a modern competitive sport. Indeed, these four levels of organization are still evident within competitive swimming today. The ASA is still the NGB of competitive swimming in England. Swimming is still also organized at district level. These five district associations continued to operate under the jurisdiction of the ASA for over a century following their formation in 1901. It was only in 2005 that England was divided into eight regions instead of five districts (ASA, 2004; Robinson, 2007). Similarly, swimming is still organized at county level today, although there are now larger numbers of county associations operating throughout the country than in the early 1900s. In addition, there remains a network of swimming clubs throughout England that provide a basis for competitive swimming to take place at a local level. There were ongoing developments within these four levels of organization over the intervening period to the present day. Nevertheless, it is important to appreciate that the basic organizational structure for the management of modern competitive swimming at national, district, county and local levels was evident in England by the early 1900s.

8.4 Competitive Swimming in the Early 1900s

The emergence of a more complex network of interdependencies was not the only important development within competitive swimming during these periods. There were various other developments that also contributed to the gradual emergence of swimming as a modern competitive sport. Some of these issues have already briefly been alluded to within those data that have been examined above. There are three particular issues that need to be considered in greater detail. Firstly, the type of standardized laws that were implemented at all levels of competition will be examined below. Secondly, it is important to comment upon the gradual emergence of the first recognized championship events for women. Thirdly, it will be argued that there were numerous ongoing

developments in the type of strokes and techniques that were utilized within competitive events during these periods.

8.4.1 Laws of the Sport

One of the main responsibilities for the various groups operating at national, district, county and club levels was to ensure that standardized ASA laws were implemented within all competitive events across the country. The emergence of the first standardized laws under the predecessor bodies of the ASA was examined in the previous chapter. It was noted that there had been twenty-five inaugural Laws of Amateur Swimming in 1869. By the early 1900s competitive swimming was an increasingly standardized and codified activity. Indeed, there were sixty-eight Laws of the Sport within competitive swimming at the outset of 1902 (ASA, 1902). These laws were updated and published on an annual basis in ASA handbooks (see ASA, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909). As in previous eras, it was still a requirement for all competitors to maintain their amateur status under ASA laws (ASA, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909). There were debates during these periods whether amateur swimmers should be allowed to claim certain expenses. The reimbursement of amateurs and the gradual emergence of 'shamateurism' were important issues in some contemporary sports (Huggins, 2004). For present purposes it is sufficient to appreciate that alterations were gradually made to ASA laws during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in order to allow amateur swimmers to claim certain expenses payments, in some instances, for reasons such as travel and overnight accommodation. Such developments have been examined in relative detail elsewhere (see Love, 2003, 2007k). In contrast, there are many laws from these periods that have not been examined by others. It is these additional laws that will be examined within this chapter. This is important in order to provide a basis to examine the extent to which competitive swimming had emerged as a relatively organized and codified activity by the early 1900s.

The increasing codification of competitive swimming during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was evident in relation to the laws that were implemented in the management of competitive events during these periods. It was noted in the previous chapter that by the late 1870s there had been a requirement to appoint a starter and/or judge in order to oversee competitive events. By the early 1900s there was a requirement to appoint a wider range of officials as increasing distinctions were drawn

between the roles undertaken by judges/referees, starters, timekeepers and competitors' stewards who were responsible for marshalling swimmers before and after their races (ASA, 1902, 1903, 1904). In addition, when handicap events were included within a programme it was necessary to appoint an official handicapper and, from 1904, a check-starter who would ensure that competitors did not leave their starting position before their allotted handicap (ASA, 1902, 1904). As in previous eras, such officials were required to implement a range of centralized laws whilst overseeing competitive events. For example, there were designated procedures for allocating competitors to different heats and starting positions prior to each race (ASA, 1902). There were also designated procedures for starting competitors at the outset of a race (ASA, 1902). Fouling and obstructing other swimmers during the course of a race were offences that could result in disqualification (ASA, 1902). In addition, a law was introduced in 1903 in order to ensure that competitors would touch the side when turning at the end of the swimming bath or other designated course (ASA, 1904). Officials were afforded the right to disqualify any competitors who transgressed ASA laws during an event (ASA, 1902). Similarly, there were mechanisms for district associations to implement periods of suspension for any competitors who breached ASA laws if such action was considered necessary (ASA, 1902).

Many of the laws that were implemented within competitive events were based upon similar regulations that had been introduced in earlier eras. The introduction of such laws in accordance with emerging notions of fair play and the increasing necessity to ensure greater standardization between competitive events was examined in the previous chapter. Nevertheless, there had been ongoing developments in the type of officials that were appointed and the laws that were implemented within competitive events. Such developments were indicative of the increasing standardization and codification of competitive swimming during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as centralized laws continued to be outlined by the ASA and implemented within competitive events at all four levels of organization. There have been ongoing developments in the roles and tasks that were undertaken by racing officials over the intervening period to the present day. Yet it can also be argued that the type of officials that were appointed in order to oversee competitive events in the early 1900s – judges/referees, starters, timekeepers and stewards – were indicative of the same type of officials that are appointed in order to oversee the management of modern competitive events.

The ongoing development of centralized laws for the management of competitive events was an important indicator of the increasing codification of competitive swimming under the jurisdiction of the ASA. However, there were also discernable trends towards the indoorization of competitive swimming and the increasing popularity of shorter-distance events during these periods that also require consideration. It was noted earlier in this chapter that the provision of increasing numbers of public baths facilities contributed towards the increasing indoorization of swimming and bathing during the course of the nineteenth century. This trend was also reflected within competitive swimming as people took advantage of the availability of such facilities in order to establish larger numbers of swimming clubs. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries many competitive events took place within public baths (see *Swimming*, 13 March 1895 – 7 November 1895; *Swimming Magazine*, 1 June 1898 – 1 May 1899; *Swimming News*, 1 June 1907 – 22 June 1907). Such developments were also encapsulated within certain ASA laws. For example, the ASA introduced a law that national records would only be maintained for certain specified distances (ASA, 1902). This gradual trend towards the indoorization of competitive swimming was evident in the stipulation that new record times would only be valid for many of these recognized distances if the recorded time had been completed within a swimming bath (see table 8.9). It is unclear to what extent the introduction of this law might also have facilitated greater standardization in the distances that were utilized by different clubs for their own competitive events. Swimming baths were not yet built to standard specifications (ASA, 1902). This meant that there were often considerable variations between the dimensions of different baths facilities. As such, the dimensions of a swimming bath continued to affect the precise distances that could be arranged for competitive events within different locations.

Table 8.9: Recognized Distances for Amateur Records in England, c.1903

Baths Events	Open-Water Events
100 Yards	880 Yards
150 Yards	1,000 Yards
220 Yards	One Mile
300 Yards	
440 Yards	
500 Yards	
150 Yards Backstroke	
200 Yards Breaststroke	
Ladies 100 Yards	

Source: ASA (1904)

There were numerous potential benefits stemming from this long-term trend towards the indoorization of competitive swimming that contributed to the notion that swimming baths were more appropriate settings for many competitive events. The use of such baths would have provided a safer, more confined and controllable environment for conducting competitive events than in many traditional outdoor locations. Similarly, it is likely that the water within public baths would have been cleaner than in many of the outdoor locations that were often also utilized for transport and industrial purposes. In addition, the gradual indoorization of competitive events provided a basis for races to take place in locations in which there were no currents or tides to impact upon performance (ASA, 1902). In other words, the use of indoor baths provided a basis for swimmers to participate in competitive events within a safer and more controlled environment and under more standardized racing conditions.

This ongoing trend towards the indoorization of competitive swimming also contributed to lengthening chains of interdependence within the swimming-based network. In particular, it would appear that larger numbers of people gradually came to view competitive swimming as an acceptable social arena to experience what Elias (1986a, p.44) has described as ‘an enjoyable and controlled de-controlling of emotions’. Such developments occurred within the context of various interweaving processes. For example, it is important to note that betting had been banned at all competitive events that were held under ASA laws from 1889 (Sinclair and Henry, 1893). It was argued in previous chapters that gambling upon the outcome of a race had often provided a means for many individuals to experience heightened levels of tension in a manner that was relatively controlled and, therefore, socially acceptable. Yet by the late 1880s some people appear to have been increasingly concerned at the moral impact of betting within sport. For example, Sinclair and Henry (1893, p.320) argued that ‘the evils attending

upon betting are innumerable, and their results wide-spreading. It is the greatest curse of amateur sport, and is the direct cause of “roping” and other malpractices’. Similar concerns were evident amongst officials within many contemporary sports such as boxing, horse racing, pedestrianism, rugby union and wrestling (see Birley, 1993; Huggins, 2004). However, attempts to restrict or ban gambling within some contemporary sports – particularly within the amateur activities of the upper and middle classes – often had little practical effect (Huggins, 2004). There is insufficient evidence to determine whether informal betting continued at swimming events following the ban that had been introduced by the ASA. Nevertheless, it would appear that greater emphasis was placed upon the generation of tension-excitement from watching and participating in competitive events rather than gambling upon the outcome.

The interweaving of these twin processes – the gradual indoorization of competitive events and the banning of gambling by the ASA – contributed to the increasing popularity of sprint events during these periods. Long-distance events were considered to be repetitive and monotonous within public baths, especially, as competitors were only able to swim backwards and forwards several times to complete the specified distance (Sinclair, 1894). Instead, it would appear that greater excitement could be elicited from the inclusion of shorter races. Indeed, by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries some contemporary authors argued that sprint events were becoming increasingly popular at the expense of long-distance swimming (see Sinclair, 1894; *Swimming Magazine*, 1 October 1898, p.44 and 1 May 1899, p.99; Hamilton, 1906). By the early 1900s competitive swimming was an increasingly standardized and codified activity that often took place within the relatively safe and controlled environment of public, indoor baths. In addition, there was an increasing tendency amongst the members of many swimming clubs to focus upon sprint events within their entertainments. Within the context of these interweaving processes, it would appear that competitive swimming was increasingly viewed as an activity in which it was permissible for competitors and spectators to experience heightened levels of controlled tension-excitement. Such developments would also have contributed, in part, to the gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence within competitive swimming during these periods.

8.4.2 The Emergence of Female Competitors

The issue of gender has not been examined in the preceding chapters of this thesis due to the fact that competitive swimming had remained a largely male-dominated activity throughout most of the nineteenth century. It was only towards the latter decades of the nineteenth century that larger numbers of women gradually began to participate in swimming as a recreational and, in some instances, competitive activity (see Love, 2003; 2007d; Parker, 2010). The gradual emergence of women within competitive swimming is a complex topic that could provide the basis, in itself, for a separate thesis. There is insufficient scope to undertake this type of investigation here. Nevertheless, it is important to comment upon the gradual emergence of women within competitive swimming in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some authors have examined the increasing participation of women within competitive sports in relation to issues such as: (a) the role that was played by women in challenging patriarchal power-relations; (b) contemporary notions of masculinity/femininity; (c) the social requirement for women to maintain modest and respectable forms of behaviour; and (d) notions of female frailty and increasing concerns regarding female health and well-being (see J.A. Hargreaves, 1993, 1994; Lenskyj, 1986; McCrone, 1984, 1988). The aim within this section is to examine such developments from a figurational perspective. J.A. Hargreaves (1992) has previously criticized the relative lack of attention amongst figurational sociologists toward issues of gender and the role of women within competitive sports. Indeed, there still remains considerable scope to contribute towards an understanding of gender from a figurational perspective. In this manner, the issue of gender will briefly be examined within the context of shifting power-relations between men and women in the period between the Middle-Ages and the early twentieth century.

There was a relatively large discrepancy in the power-chances of men and women in earlier and less complex social configurations such as the medieval feudal system. Elias (2000) argued that the centralized monopoly of violence was relatively weak within less complex social configurations, which contributed to greater insecurity and lower levels of internal self-restraint amongst the general populace. Within this social context there was often a relatively large discrepancy in the balance of power in favour of male warrior elites (Elias, 2000). In accordance with the relatively low levels of internal and external constraints upon human behaviour during these periods, there were often fewer restrictions to prevent men from treating women as objects for their own sexual gratification (Elias, 2000). Indeed, instances of open nudity and sexual behaviour were

more common within medieval society due to the fact that such activities were not yet considered to be shameful or embarrassing and, as such, there was no felt compunction to hide such activities from public view (Elias, 2000).

Throughout subsequent periods between the Middle-Ages and the early twentieth century there was a gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence within the wider social network. Such developments contributed to a gradual lowering in the threshold of repugnance and the emergence of more controlled and 'civilized' forms of behaviour amongst both men and women (Elias, 2000). One example to illustrate this point was the emergence of greater self-control amongst many people over their sexual urges. Indeed, there was a concomitant trend during these periods towards notions of romance and fidelity as men and women were expected – in accordance with increasing internal and external constraints – to seek their gratification within the accepted confines of marriage (Elias, 2000, 2006). In accordance with the same interweaving processes, there was also an increasing sensitivity towards the human body as open nudity, bodily functions and sexual activities gradually became subjects that elicited feelings of shame and embarrassment from larger numbers of people and increasingly took place in private (Elias, 2000).

This gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence also contributed to a shift in the balance of power between men and women. As larger numbers of people became increasingly dependent upon others, there was a concomitant trend 'in the direction of decreasing power-differentials within and among groups, more specifically a change in the balance of power between rulers and ruled, the social classes, men and women, the generations, parents and children' (Dunning and Sheard, 2005, p.237). There were many instances in which women now enjoyed greater power-chances and freedoms than had been the case in previous eras (Elias, 2000). Nevertheless, English society was still predominantly male-dominated throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and women were still expected to operate within the context of acceptable nineteenth century social norms.

The prevailing nineteenth century notions of masculinity/femininity and standards of modest and respectable behaviour were unintended consequences of the long-term interweaving of these wider social processes. Prior to the latter decades of the nineteenth century many of these prevailing notions had contributed to limiting female

participation within swimming and to maintaining competitive swimming as a male-dominated activity (Parker, 2010). Nevertheless, it was within the context of these interweaving processes that the first female swimmers gradually began to emerge in the second half of the nineteenth century (see *Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, 16 August 1873, p.2-3; 11 October 1873, p.3; 25 October 1873, p.3; 29 November 1873, p.4; 9 May 1874, p.1 and p.3). Many of the earliest female swimmers were often young girls who operated as professionals. Parker (2010, p.682-683) has argued that:

The number of female professional swimmers was never large... Their races, endurance feats and aquatic displays were though frequently reported upon. The first female professionals were young girls, often daughters or sisters of an established male professional swimmer and originally included in the programmes of aquatic entertainment for their novelty value in drawing the crowds. They performed feats and tricks in the water designed to enhance their feminine qualities. The diminutive size and stature of these young girl swimmers was often remarked upon in coverage of the event.

The long-term shift in the power-relations between men/women and between adults/children was important in facilitating the relative freedom – in comparison to earlier eras – for some young girls to engage in such activities. However, the fact that it was often girls that participated in such activities might also indicate that the social requirement to conceal the female body was stronger amongst post-pubescent women. Indeed, it was not until the latter decades of the nineteenth century that larger numbers of women gradually started to become involved in competitive forms of swimming on a more widespread and organized basis.

The gradual acceptance of swimming as an appropriate activity for women occurred within the context of a range of interweaving social processes. From the 1870s various contemporary authors gradually began to argue that swimming was an activity that should be practiced by men and women (see Dudgeon, 1870; Wood, 1870; Martin, 1876; Hoggan, 1879; Anonymous, 1882; Boccock, 1888; Brooke, 1896; Holbein, 1903; Hamilton, 1906; Kellermann et al., 1906; Daniels, Johansson and Sinclair, 1907). Such arguments were often based upon increasing concern for the health of women who, generally speaking, were less active than men within their daily lives and were also

expected to conform to wider social conventions of wearing items of clothing that were often large, heavy and restricting. Such arguments occurred within the context of an increasingly complex social configuration. In accordance with long-term trends towards lengthening chains of interdependence, women now enjoyed greater power-chances than in earlier eras. This provided a basis for some women to argue in favour of swimming as an appropriate female activity (see Hoggan, 1879). Nevertheless, it remained necessary – in accordance with internal and external constraints – for the gradual emergence of swimming as an appropriate female activity to take place under certain restrictions. For example, swimming gradually came to be viewed as a relatively gentle form of exercise for female participation provided that women wore appropriate costumes in order to ensure that the female body remained hidden from public view (see Dudgeon, 1870; Hoggan, 1879; Hamilton, 1906; Kellermann et al., 1906). Similarly, men and women remained segregated in many indoor and outdoor locations until the early years of the twentieth century in order to reduce the extent to which people might have experienced feelings of shame or embarrassment at the prospect of men and women swimming together (Sinclair and Henry, 1893; Hamilton, 1906).

There was a concomitant trend towards greater female participation within competitive swimming as larger numbers of women gradually began to engage in swimming as a more general form of exercise. Competitive swimming provided a basis for women to enjoy the same heightened levels of controlled tension-excitement that were experienced by men. Crucially, competitive swimming was increasingly deemed to be an acceptable activity for women in relation to prevailing nineteenth century notions of femininity, modesty and the lowering threshold of repugnance. For example, the formation of separate ladies' swimming clubs initially provided a basis for women to swim in segregation from men. The first reference to a ladies swimming club within analyzed data was the Women's Union Swimming Club in the late 1870s (Hoggan, 1879). By the late 1880s it was argued within one contemporary report that increasing numbers of ladies swimming clubs were gradually being established (*Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times*, 10 August 1889, p.167). Some women continued to form their own independent swimming clubs into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, there were also some instances in which women were allowed to join existing male-dominated swimming clubs with the understanding that female swimmers would form their own ladies sections. These trends can be demonstrated in

relation to some of the clubs that were referred to within contemporary sources in 1895 and 1898-1899 (see table 8.10).

Table 8.10: List of Known Ladies Swimming Clubs and Clubs with Ladies Sections/Members in 1895 and 1898-1899

1895	
<i>Ladies Clubs</i>	<i>Clubs with Ladies Sections/Members</i>
Aston Manor Ladies SC, Birmingham	Bristol SC
Barry Ladies SC, London	Jersey SC
Birmingham Ladies SC	Leander SC, London
Brighton Ladies SC	Magpie SC, London
Coventry Ladies ASC	Morecambe SC
Cygnus Ladies SC, London	Nottingham SC
Handsworth Ladies SC, Birmingham	Portsmouth SC
Hastings Ladies ASC	St. James SC, London
Lady Tadpole SC, London	
Severn Street Ladies SC, Birmingham	
South Norwood Ladies SC, London	
St. Helens Ladies SC	
Wandsworth Ladies SC, London	
1898-1899	
<i>Ladies Clubs</i>	<i>Clubs with Ladies Sections/Members</i>
Barry Ladies SC, London	Civic ASC, London
Birmingham Ladies SC	Grundy SC, Heywood
Brighton Ladies SC	Harrogate SC and Humane Society
Cygnus Ladies SC, London	Maidstone SC
Hanover Ladies SC, London	Tunbridge Wells (Cygnus) SC
Iris Ladies SC, London	Weston-Super-Mare SC
Kingston Ladies SC, London	
Lurline Ladies SC, London	
Polytechnic Ladies SC, London	
Putney Ladies SC, London	
South Norwood Ladies SC, London	
Sunderland Ladies SC	
Tibberton Perseverance Ladies SC, London	
Worthing Ladies SC	

Sources: *Swimming* (27 March 1895, p.20; 18 April 1895, p.46 and p.53; 2 May 1895, p.79; 9 May 1895, p.81, p.85 and p.88; 23 May 1895, p.111 and p.116; 13 June 1895, p.142; 1 August 1895, p.249, p.253 and p.255; 7 November 1895, p.462); *Swimming Magazine* (1 June 1898, p.4-5; 1 July 1898, p.14; 1 August 1898, p.25; 1 September 1898, p.33; 1 October 1898, p.41 and p.50; 1 November 1898, p.53; 1 December 1898, p.60; 1 March 1899, p.85; 1 May 1899, p.100); SCASA (1898).

The formation of separate ladies clubs and ladies sections was indicative of the greater power-chances that were enjoyed by some women in comparison to earlier eras. Yet the formation of such clubs also provided a basis for women to swim and, at times, to compete in relative isolation from men. Such developments contributed to the gradual

emergence of larger numbers of women within competitive swimming as the relative segregation of the sexes provided an initial basis to limit any potential feelings of shame or embarrassment that might have been aroused if men and women had been expected to swim together. But as larger numbers of women gradually began to join swimming clubs and to participate in competitive events there was also a concomitant trend towards greater interdependence between male and female groups within the swimming-based network. In particular, there was a gradual trend towards greater interdependence between female swimmers and the male-dominated ASA during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As the NGB of competitive swimming, the ASA assumed authority over all competitive events that took place throughout England. From the viewpoint of the ASA, this also included all competitive events that took place between female competitors. For example, at the annual meeting of 1894 the ASA passed a formal ruling that ‘the rules and laws of [the] A.S.A. apply to persons of either sex, whether so stated or not’ (*ASA Minutes: 1893-1902*, 14 April 1894). It was not until 1907 that ASA laws were fully revised in order to include specific references to ‘him’ and ‘her’ within individual laws (ASA, 1907). Nevertheless, it is evident that members of the male-dominated ASA sought to maintain their centralized monopoly of power within amateur swimming in light of the gradual emergence of female competitors, clubs and races within England.

In accordance with lengthening chains of interdependence between men and women within competitive swimming there was a concomitant trend towards greater interaction between the sexes. For example, there is evidence that some ladies clubs requested the attendance of male officials at their competitive events due to the fact that many of the women within their clubs did not have sufficient knowledge of ASA laws to undertake such roles (see *Swimming*, 6 June 1895, p.139; 1 August 1895, p.255). In addition, there also appear to have been increasing concerns amongst some people at the prospect of men being permitted to watch competitive events in which women were taking part (*ASA Minutes: 1893-1902*, 30 March 1895 and 16 March 1901; *Swimming*, 6 June 1895, p.135 and p.139). Such developments were reflected in the increasing need to ensure that all competitors wore appropriate swimwear in order to conceal their bodies whilst also permitting sufficient freedom to allow competitors to swim without hindrance. For example, the ASA introduced a law in 1890 in order to place certain restrictions upon the type of swimming costumes that could be worn by competitors (see Keil and Wix, 1996). This law was revised in 1899 in order to draw a distinction between male and

female costumes through the introduction of the additional requirements for all women's costumes to include longer sleeves and a closer fit around the neck (ASA *Minutes: 1893-1902*, 25 March 1899). An additional clause was later ratified that '*at all meetings where both sexes are admitted, lady competitors over 14 years of age must wear on leaving the dressing room, a long coat or bath gown before entering and immediately after leaving the water*' (ASA, 1909, p.44-45; original emphasis). Competitive swimming was increasingly viewed as an appropriate activity for women during these periods. There was also a gradual trend towards greater interdependence between men and women within competitive swimming. Yet such developments took place within a wider social context in which it remained important to maintain contemporary standards of modesty in accordance with the relatively low threshold of repugnance of shame and embarrassment. The introduction of laws to ensure that appropriate costumes were worn and that the female body remained hidden from view before and after each race provided the basis for competitive swimming to continue to be viewed as an appropriate activity for women in spite of the gradual trend towards greater interdependence between the sexes.

There was another important aspect relating to the increasing interdependence between men and women within competitive swimming as larger numbers of women gradually became affiliated to the ASA and related district associations through their membership of ladies sections and ladies clubs (see SCASA, 1898; ASA, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909). Such developments contributed to a gradual trend towards the emergence of recognized female championships at national, district and county levels. Indeed, some swimming clubs had been pressing for the ASA to consider establishing a national championship for women since the early 1890s (see *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25 April 1892; *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 11 March 1893; *Leicester Chronicle and the Leicestershire Mercury*, 1 April 1893, p.2). The ASA decided to canvass the views of female competitors and ladies' clubs before determining whether a national ladies' championship should be instituted (*Hearth and Home*, 11 May 1893, p.820). Almost all of the twenty-two responses received from ladies' clubs and competitors were in support of the introduction of one or more national championships for women (ASA *Minutes: 1893-1902*, 30 March 1895). However, no further action was taken by the ASA until the early 1900s. There might have been a gradual trend towards greater interdependence between men and women within competitive swimming during these periods. Nevertheless, the power-chances for women in the government of

competitive swimming appear to have remained somewhat limited as the ASA continued to operate as a largely male-dominated organization (see *ASA Minutes: 1893-1902*; ASA, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909). There is insufficient evidence to determine whether women enjoyed greater power-chances at district and county levels. However, the first recognized ladies' championships were ratified at district and county levels in the late 1890s. It was not until 1901 that the ASA instituted the first national championship for women (see table 8.11).

Table 8.11: National, District and County Events for Female Swimmers, c.1908

Event	Organizer	Date Instituted
Ladies 100 Yards	MCASA	1896
Ladies 90 Yards	Northumberland & Durham ASA	1898
Ladies 75 Yards	Yorkshire ASA	1899
Ladies 100 Yards	ASA	1901
Ladies 100 Yards	SCASA	1901
Ladies 50 Yards	WCASA	1904
Ladies 100 Yards	NCASA	1908
Ladies Squadron (6 x c.100 Yards)	NCASA	1908

Sources: ASA (1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909); *Swimming Magazine* (1 May 1899, p.104).

The introduction of the first recognized championships for women at national, district and county levels was indicative of long-term trends towards lengthening chains of interdependence within the wider social network and increasing power-chances for many women in comparison to previous eras. Yet, at the same time, the relatively limited numbers of ladies championships that were instituted during these periods was also indicative of the fact that there still remained a discrepancy in the power-relations between men and women within English society. This wider social context was also reflected in the relatively short distances of these recognized championship events. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there were national, district and county championships for men covering a range of distances. For example, the longest event for male competitors was the ASA Long Distance Championship that took place on an annual basis over a course of between five and six miles in the River Thames (ASA, 1902). In contrast, there were no female championships beyond a distance of 100 yards at national, district or county levels. The restriction of females to shorter distances within championship events was indicative of prevailing stereotypes amongst those in

positions of relative influence in the government of competitive swimming regarding the supposed frailty of women.

By the early years of the twentieth century it can be argued that competitive swimming was gradually emerging as an acceptable and appropriate form of sport for women. Yet it is also clear that such developments occurred within the context of lengthening chains of interdependence throughout the wider social network. Many women did now enjoy greater power-chances and relative freedoms than in earlier eras. However, the gradual emergence of women within competitive swimming occurred within the context of certain social restrictions regarding the felt need – in accordance with internal and external constraints and the relative discrepancy that was still evident in power-relations between men and women – to hide the female body from public view and to ensure that competitive events would not be too strenuous for the supposedly weaker female form. In other words, it is important to appreciate that the relative power-relations between men and women were both enabling and constraining with regards to the gradual emergence of women within competitive swimming. These processes would continue throughout the course of the twentieth century as female competitors gradually came to enjoy greater parity with men in relation to the types of events that were available to them. Nevertheless, it is sufficient for present purposes to appreciate that competitive swimming was already emerging as an appropriate activity for women by the early years of the twentieth century within the context of these interweaving processes and requisite social constraints.

8.4.3 Breaststroke, Backstroke and the Emergence of the Crawl

There were ongoing developments in the type of swimming strokes and techniques that were utilized within competitive events during the late nineteenth century that preceded the emergence of the first frontcrawl strokes in the early 1900s. Other authors have previously examined some of these developments within contemporary techniques (see Armbruster et al., 1968; Carlile, 1963; Colwin, 1992; Oppenheim, 1970; Wilkie and Juba, 1986). These authors would have been aware of many of the following technical developments that will be examined below, but have often outlined such developments at a predominantly empirical level in order to focus upon the technical alterations that had occurred. The aim here is to locate such developments within a wider social and theoretical context. In this manner, it is possible to provide a more adequate basis for understanding the ongoing trend towards the development of more efficient swimming

strokes and a more cohesive explanation for the gradual emergence of the frontcrawl as the prevailing racing style. The gradual adoption of more rationalized and scientific strokes is an important indicator of the development of swimming as a more modern competitive sport.

It was noted in the previous chapter that the Trudgeon stroke – a style of swimming on the front in which the head was held out of the water and the arms were brought alternately over the surface – had been utilized in a few races with some success during the 1870s. However, the Trudgeon had been viewed as a relatively strenuous method of swimming and had only rarely been used in competitive events. Instead, it was the overhand stroke in which a competitor swam on their side and brought their uppermost arm over the surface of the water that had become the predominant racing style during the 1870s and early 1880s. The overhand and Trudgeon strokes provided a basis for swimmers to continue to experiment with different styles and techniques in their attempts to attain greater speed through the water in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The overhand stroke continued to be described as the predominant racing style by some authors in the late nineteenth century (Cobbett, 1890; Morrison, 1897). However, other authors were beginning to argue that the Trudgeon stroke was becoming more popular. By the early 1890s it was argued that the Trudgeon was ‘rarely used for distances over 200 yards; but for short races it is constantly preferred to the ordinary over-arm stroke’ (Sinclair and Henry, 1893, p.86). Less than a decade later it was argued that the Trudgeon stroke was now ‘in common use, and the favoured one with many of the best swimmers of the present day, irrespective of the distance that has to be covered’ (Jarvis, 1902, p.34).

The gradual emergence of the Trudgeon as the predominant racing style was linked to the development of more efficient techniques. Several authors referred to the emergence of more efficient leg and arm actions as some swimmers continued to experiment with variations on the earlier overhand and Trudgeon techniques in an attempt to reduce the level of resistance within the various movements that were utilized (Sinclair and Henry, 1893; Jarvis, 1902). By the early 1900s it was argued that the Trudgeon stroke was now very different from the style that had occasionally been utilized by some competitors in the 1870s and 1880s (Daniels et al., 1907). This modified version of the Trudgeon was swum predominantly on the side and was described as incorporating a ‘scissor-kick’ in which one leg was pushed forwards and kept relatively straight whilst the other was

bent at the knee and drawn backwards. The propulsive motion was gained as the legs and feet were kicked sharply together in a scissor-type movement (Jarvis, 1902; Kellermann et al., 1906; Daniels et al., 1907). This was accompanied with an alternating arm action. Whilst the body was positioned on the side, the uppermost arm was lifted out, brought forward and placed back into the water beyond the head. A rolling motion was then utilized in order to enable the swimmer to turn from their side towards their front so that their lower arm could also be brought over the surface of the water (see Jarvis, 1902; Kellermann et al., 1906; Daniels et al., 1907). This modified form of Trudgeon – swum on the side, with a rolling motion and a scissor-type leg action – could not yet be described as a frontcrawl stroke. Nevertheless, it is evident that some competitors were now experimenting with the type of movements that were suggestive of early forms of frontcrawl-type techniques.

The emergence of this modified form of Trudgeon as the prevailing racing style was indicative of a range of interweaving processes. It was argued in previous chapters that the development of swimming techniques could be explained in relation to interweaving processes of rationalization and lengthening chains of interdependence within the swimming-based network. Such processes continued throughout the 1890s and early 1900s. Swimmers continued to refine their techniques in light of increasing awareness of scientific principles that related to the importance of reducing the amount of resistance that was experienced when moving through the water. Such developments were facilitated by the fact that there were still no restrictions within the majority of events upon the style or styles of swimming that could be utilized during the course of a race. In addition, the emergence of a more complex network of interdependencies provided an important basis for facilitating the further development of swimming techniques. The institution of a wider range of competitions at local, county, district and national levels and the formation of larger numbers of clubs throughout the country provided an important basis: (a) to encourage larger numbers of people to engage in competitive events; (b) to seek to improve their swimming abilities relative to their rivals; and (c) to share and/or observe the ideas, practices and techniques that were currently being utilized by others.

It was within the context of these ongoing processes of rationalization and lengthening chains of interdependence that the first recognizable frontcrawl strokes began to emerge in the early 1900s. However, some of the main developments in the emergence of the

frontcrawl were known to have occurred in other countries. The diffusion of competitive swimming is a topic that requires more detailed examination than can be undertaken during the course of this thesis. For present purposes it is sufficient to appreciate that there was a gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence at international level during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This trend can be demonstrated, in part, in relation to the increasing numbers of national governing bodies that were formed in other countries. This trend was evident in the British Isles through the formation of an independent Scottish ASA in 1888, Irish ASA in 1893 and Welsh ASA in c.1897 (*ASA Minutes: 1893-1902*, ASA Report for 1893 and meeting of 13 March 1897; Sinclair and Henry, 1893; Sinclair, 1894; SCASA, 1898; *Swimming Magazine*, 1 July 1898, p.18). The formation of similar organizations was also evident in other countries. For example, the New York Athletic Club had instituted national swimming championships in America in 1877. Control of these events was subsequently relinquished to the Amateur Athletic Union in 1888, which undertook the government of competitive swimming in America (Sinclair and Henry, 1893; *Swimming Magazine*, 1 November 1898, p.56). It was noted within one contemporary report that a German Swimming Association was known to have been operating since at least the mid-to-late 1880s (*Swimming*, 6 June 1895, p.135). Similarly, the New Zealand ASA was known to have been founded in 1890 and the New South Wales ASA in Australia in the early 1890s (Sinclair and Henry, 1893). In addition, the South African Amateur Swimming Union was also known to be operating by the early 1900s (*ASA Committee Minutes*, 18 May 1901). The formation of such groups is broadly indicative of a gradual trend towards the diffusion of competitive swimming during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The importance of these lengthening chains of interdependence in the development of swimming strokes and techniques was evident in relation to the increasing number of competitive events that gradually began to take place between the representatives of different countries. For example, it is evident from existing research that different swimming events had been included in the modern Olympics in Athens in 1896, Paris in 1900, St Louis (USA) in 1904, the interim Games in Athens in 1906 and London in 1908 (see Gonsalves and La Mondia, 1999). However, it was not only in the Olympics that swimming contests began to take place between the representatives of different nations. For example, it is also important to appreciate that foreign competitors were entitled to enter ASA national championships. The first foreign competitors from

Austria and America took part in ASA championships in 1891 (*Yorkshire Herald, and the York Herald*, 24 July 1891, p.7; *Morning Post*, 12 October 1891, p.2). At the annual meeting of 1894 it was resolved that the ASA should contact other national governing bodies in order to draw their attention to the fact that swimmers from other nations were eligible to compete in ASA championships (*ASA Minutes: 1893-1902*, 14 April 1894). Competitors from Australia, Hungary, America and Belgium subsequently enjoyed success in a range of ASA championships in the late 1890s and early 1900s (see table 8.12).

Table 8.12: Foreign Winners of ASA National Championships, c.1897-1908

	Winner	Nationality	Event
1897	P. Cavill	Australian	440 Yards
	P. Cavill	Australian	Long-Distance
1899	F. Lane	Australian	220 Yards
	F. Lane	Australian	440 Yards
1900	F. Lane (Joint Winner)	Australian	220 Yards
1902	F. Lane	Australian	100 Yards
	F. Lane	Australian	220 Yards
	R. Cavill	Australian	440 Yards
	R. Cavill	Australian	Half-Mile
1905	Z. Halmay	Hungarian	100 Yards
	B. Kieran	Australian	220 Yards
	B. Kieran	Australian	440 Yards
	B. Kieran	Australian	500 Yards
	B. Kieran	Australian	Half-Mile
1906	C. Daniels	American	100 Yards
	C. Healy	Australian	220 Yards
1907	C. Daniels	American	100 Yards
	Z. Halmay	Hungarian	220 Yards
1908	H. Meyboom	Belgian	100 Yards
	F. Beaurepaire	Australian	220 Yards
	F. Beaurepaire	Australian	440 Yards
	F. Beaurepaire	Australian	Half-Mile
	F. Beaurepaire	Australian	One Mile
	F. Springfield	Australian	Long-Distance

Sources: ASA (1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909).

These lengthening chains of interdependence at international level provided an important basis for the wider diffusion of ideas, practices and techniques that were currently being utilized in other countries. It was not only English swimmers that were experimenting with different styles and techniques during these periods. For example, swimmers in Australia had also been experimenting with variations of the overhand and

Trudgeon techniques. These experiments contributed to the emergence of a style of swimming that was known as the Australian crawl:

To perform the stroke the legs are kept as straight as possible, but bent from the knee, and each foot is lifted alternately, striking the water with the instep. The legs are not opened or the knees drawn up as in other methods. The body is kept square on the breast, and the arms are dipped in – right arm with left foot, and vice versa – bent at the elbow and just over the head, and drawn smartly back until they come out of the water fully extended along the sides of the body (Kellermann et al., 1906, p.27).

Swimmers in America also compiled a series of recommendations following their own ongoing experiments with variations of the Trudgeon and the crawl:

I. The body travels best when flat on its stomach. II. The best arm action is a double [alternating] over-arm with comfortable reach and arms bent slightly at the elbow. III. The legs should be held straight, toes down, and moved up-and-down alternately and continually, from the knee down. IV. Arms and legs should work independently of each other. V. Time of both arms and legs should vary according and proportionately to the distance to cover (Kellermann et al., 1906, p.32-33).

There were important differences in the timing of arm and leg movements within these two styles of swimming. Nevertheless, both styles were recognizable as early forms of frontcrawl. The emergence of these frontcrawl techniques occurred within the context of a gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence at international level. Australian swimmers such as R. Cavill, B. Kieran and C. Healy and the American swimmer C. Daniels were some of the earliest proponents of these emerging frontcrawl strokes (Kellermann et al., 1906; *Swimming News*, 8 June 1907, p.8). Each of these competitors had visited England in the early 1900s and had been successful in ASA championship events. In other words, the gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence at international level provided an important basis for the diffusion of different ideas and techniques. Indeed, by 1907 it was argued that increasing numbers of English swimmers were beginning to experiment with these emerging frontcrawl strokes and, in some instances, were beginning to utilize such techniques within competitive events (*Swimming News*, 1 June 1907, p.9; 8 June 1907, p.8).

The emergence of the first frontcrawl techniques was indicative of ongoing processes of rationalization and lengthening chains of interdependence within the swimming-based network. However, these were not the only important developments in the types of strokes and techniques that were utilized within competitive swimming in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It was also during these periods that competitive swimming emerged as a multi-stroke discipline. Throughout the nineteenth century competitors had been free to choose their own style of swimming within the overwhelming majority of events. It was noted in previous chapters that different groups did occasionally hold races in which competitors were restricted to swimming only upon their breast or only upon their back. However, it was not until 1903 that the ASA instituted the first national breast and back swimming championships. Several district and county associations subsequently instituted their own breast and back swimming championships (see table 8.13).

Table 8.13: Breast Swimming and Back Swimming Events, c.1908

Breast Swimming Events		
<i>Event</i>	<i>Organizer</i>	<i>Date Instituted</i>
200 Yards Breast Swimming	ASA	1903
Schoolboy Team (3 x 50-75 Yards Breast Stroke)	Yorkshire ASA	1899 (Breast Stroke from 1904)
Schoolboy Team (4 x 60-100 Yards Breast Stroke)	ASA	1896 (Breast Stroke from 1906)
Schoolboy Team (4 x 60-100 Yards Breast Stroke)	MCASA	1903 (Breast Stroke from 1906)
200 Yards Breast Swimming	Northumberland & Durham ASA	1906
100 Yards Breast Stroke	Yorkshire ASA	1907
Back Swimming Events		
<i>Event</i>	<i>Organizer</i>	<i>Date Instituted</i>
150 Yards Back Swimming	ASA	1903
Back Swimming Team Championship (4 x 4, 3, 2 and 1 Lengths)	Sussex Local Centre	1906
100 Yards Back Stroke	Yorkshire ASA	1907
500 Yards Salt-Water Back Swimming Championship	Sussex Local Centre	1908

Sources: (ASA, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909).

The reasons underpinning the formation of separate breast and back swimming championships were not outlined within ASA minutes. Was there simply a desire to promote greater variation in the type of competitive events that took place under the jurisdiction of the ASA? Or was there perhaps a more practical reason for instituting such events? There had been a gradual trend towards greater interest in life saving practices and techniques amongst many swimming clubs following the formation of the Life Saving Society in 1891 (Sinclair and Henry, 1893; Sinclair, 1894). Swimming on the breast and back were argued to be more practical techniques for lifesaving than many of the emerging racing styles of these periods (Sinclair and Henry, 1893; Sinclair, 1894; Hamilton, 1906; Daniels et al., 1907). Given the increasing importance that was attached to lifesaving practices and techniques amongst some contemporary clubs and swimmers, is it possible that breast and back swimming championships were promoted by the ASA in order to encourage people to practice these more utilitarian techniques? Or were members of the ASA perhaps taking advantage of these wider interweaving processes in order to expand the type of championship events that currently took place under their jurisdiction? Whatever the reasons underpinning the formation of these events, it is important to appreciate that the formal recognition of breast and back swimming championships by the ASA contributed to the emergence of a formal distinction between breaststroke and backstroke events and more traditional 'free-style' events in which competitors were still permitted to choose their own methods of swimming. During the early 1900s there was a gradual trend towards the use of emerging frontcrawl techniques within 'free-style' events. Other authors have previously attempted to examine the emergence of these frontcrawl techniques. However, little has been made of the ongoing development of backstroke and breaststroke techniques during these same periods (see Armbruster et al., 1968; Carlile, 1963; Colwin, 1992; Oppenheim, 1970; Wilkie and Juba, 1986). It is only by examining such developments that it is possible to demonstrate that relatively modern forms of breaststroke and backstroke were emerging by the early 1900s. This is important in order to provide a more adequate empirical and theoretical basis to understand the various interweaving processes that contributed to the emergence of a range of distinct strokes that came to be used in different races over time. Again, the gradual adoption of more rationalized and scientific strokes is an important indicator of the ongoing development of swimming as a modern competitive sport. Moreover, it will be argued that such developments provide an important theoretical basis for understanding the emergence of the butterfly as a fourth racing style in later decades.

Many styles of swimming on the back that were referred to by contemporary authors in the latter decades of the nineteenth century reflected the same type of techniques that had been known and utilized in previous eras. For example, swimming on the back was still described as entailing a breaststroke-type leg action (see Finney, 1886; Bocoock, 1888; Anonymous, 1890; Cobbett, 1890; Sinclair and Henry, 1893; Sinclair, 1894; Brooke, 1896; Morrison, 1897). Some authors still did not describe any type of arm-movements for swimming on the back (Anonymous, 1890; Morrison, 1897). Others referred only briefly to a minor sculling of the hands down by the side of the body (Brooke, 1896). In other instances, the arms were described as being drawn up along the side of the body before being extended underneath the surface of the water either beyond the head or outwards from the body on a line with the shoulders. The propulsive action would then occur in both of these styles as the hands were pushed back down to the side of the body underneath the water (see Finney, 1886; Bocoock, 1888; Sinclair and Henry, 1893; Holbein, 1903; Natator, 1905; Hamilton, 1906). Many of these techniques had been known in previous eras. However, there is also evidence that some swimmers were beginning to experiment with variations on these styles of swimming. In particular, there was a gradual trend from the 1890s towards the emergence of a style of swimming on the back in which a breaststroke leg-action was utilized, but both arms were lifted simultaneously out of the water and extended beyond the head. The arms were then pushed back down to the side of the body underneath the water (Cobbett, 1890; Sinclair and Henry, 1893; Sinclair, 1894; Jarvis, 1902; Holbein, 1903; Natator, 1905; Hamilton, 1906; Daniels et al., 1907). The emergence of this particular style occurred before the introduction of the first national backstroke championship under the jurisdiction of the ASA. This is indicative of the fact that some people were experimenting with different styles of swimming on the back before such events had been afforded formal recognition as a separate racing style. Some local swimming clubs continued to hold occasional races in which competitors were restricted to swimming only upon their back during the 1890s (see *Swimming*, 11 July 1895, p.205; 25 July 1895, p.236; 10 October 1895, p.409; *Swimming Magazine*, 1 July 1898, p.21; 1 August 1898, p.25-26, 1 September 1898, p.33, 1 October 1898, p.41; 1 May 1899, p.100-101). These types of races might have provided a basis to encourage some people to experiment with faster methods of swimming on the back. However, such events remained relatively few in number. In other words, the development of swimming styles on the back must also be examined in relation to ongoing processes of rationalization and lengthening chains of

interdependence within the swimming-based network. During these periods some people were already experimenting with different styles of swimming on the front in which one arm or alternate arms were lifted over the surface of the water in order to reduce the level of resistance that was experienced. In accordance with ongoing processes of rationalization it would appear that there was a concomitant trend towards the application of the same type of scientific principles when swimming on the back.

These interweaving processes had contributed to the emergence of a style of swimming on the back in which both arms were brought simultaneously over the surface of the water. Yet it is important to appreciate that some competitors continued to experiment with the same types of movements that were increasingly being utilized when swimming on the front. For example, by the early 1900s some authors were beginning to argue that swimming on the back ‘may be made much speedier by using the hands alternately’ (Jarvis, 1902, p.26). Similarly, some competitors had begun to experiment with an alternating crawl-type leg-action when swimming on the back (Daniels et al., 1907). Such developments occurred within the context of an increasingly complex network of interdependencies. The formal recognition of backstroke events and the introduction of the first national backstroke championships under the jurisdiction of the ASA in 1903 contributed to lengthening chains of interdependence between those competitors who were experimenting with emerging backstroke techniques. In addition, the following law had been introduced in order to govern the type of movements that could be used when swimming on the back:

The competitors shall line up in the water facing the starting end, with both hands resting on the end or rail of the bath. At the word “Go” the competitors shall push off on and commence and continue swimming upon their backs throughout the race (ASA, 1903, p.43).

An additional clause was later added that ‘*at each end of the bath, after turning, competitors shall place both hands on the end or rail of the bath before pushing off, as at the commencement of the race*’ (ASA, 1904, p.47; original emphasis). Apart from the requirement to remain upon their back, there was considerable scope within the parameters of this law for swimmers to continue to experiment with different styles and techniques. It was within the context of these interweaving processes of rationalization and lengthening chains of interdependence that some individuals gradually began to

utilize a crawl-type leg-action when swimming on their back. This type of leg-action was used in conjunction with simultaneous and with alternating arm-actions during these periods (see Daniels et al., 1907). The latter of these techniques – a crawl-type leg-action combined with an alternating arm-action – is broadly recognizable as one of the earliest descriptions of a modern form of backstroke.

There were also ongoing developments in the type of breaststroke techniques that were utilized by some competitors in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It was argued in previous chapters that breaststroke was perhaps the earliest style of swimming to have emerged in a format that would have been broadly recognizable to a modern audience in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, there were ongoing developments in stroke and technique that occurred within the context of a range of interweaving processes. As in previous eras, some local swimming clubs were known to hold occasional races in which competitors were restricted to swimming only upon their breast (see *Swimming*, 2 May 1895, p.71; 9 May 1895, p.88; 13 June 1895, p.145; 27 June 1895, p.179; 4 July 1895, p.191; 11 July 1895, p.205; 12 September 1895, p.352-353; 10 October 1895, p.409; 17 October 1895, p.428; *Swimming Magazine*, 1 July 1898, p.21; 1 August 1898, p.25-26; 1 May 1899, p.100-101). The formal recognition of breaststroke events by the ASA and the introduction of the first national breaststroke championships in 1903 contributed to lengthening chains of interdependence amongst those individuals who continued to experiment with emerging breaststroke techniques. Similarly, the following law had been introduced by the ASA in order to regulate the type of movements that could be utilized when swimming on the breast:

At the word “Go” the competitors shall dive and swim on the breast. Both hands must be pushed forward and brought backwards simultaneously. The body must be kept perfectly on the breast and both shoulders in line with the surface of the water. When touching at the turn or finishing a race the touch shall be made with both hands. Any competitor introducing or using a sidestroke movement during the race to be disqualified (ASA, 1903, p.42).

This law was slightly more prescriptive than the rule that had been introduced for back swimming events. Nevertheless, there remained scope within the parameters of this law for competitors to continue to experiment with different techniques for swimming on

the breast. The continued development of breaststroke techniques during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries occurred in accordance with the interweaving of these lengthening chains of interdependence and ongoing processes of rationalization.

A simultaneous and circular type of arm-movement continued to be described within the breaststroke during these periods. There were some minor variations within these descriptions over the pitch of the hands at different points within the stroke and the size or extent of the arm stroke that should be utilized (see Finney, 1886; Bocoock, 1888; Sinclair and Henry, 1893; Sinclair, 1894; Brooke, 1896; Morrison, 1897; Jarvis, 1902; Holbein, 1903; Natator, 1905; Hamilton, 1906; Kellermann et al., 1906; Daniels et al., 1907). However, there appear to have been more notable and widespread experiments over the most efficient type of leg-action that should be utilized when swimming on the breast. Many authors in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries continued to describe a type of leg-action in which: (a) the legs began in an extended position; (b) the knees were bent and allowed to drift sideways whilst the feet stayed in contact and were drawn up towards the body; (c) the feet were then simultaneously pushed apart and extended outwards and backwards; and (d) the legs and feet were brought back together into their original starting position (see Finney, 1886; Bocoock, 1888; Brooke, 1896; Morrison, 1897; Holbein, 1903; Natator, 1905; Hamilton, 1906; Daniels et al., 1907). Yet some authors were also beginning to argue that it was more effective to utilize a rapid and more circular whip-type movement within the kicking motion as the legs were extended backwards and outwards (Sinclair and Henry, 1893; Sinclair, 1894; Jarvis, 1902; Kellermann et al., 1906; Daniels et al., 1907). In addition, there is evidence that some competitors were experimenting with other variations on more traditional breaststroke techniques:

The 200 Yards Breast Stroke record of 2 min. 47 secs., which had stood to the credit of W.W. Robinson for four years, was, on July 30th, beaten by 2 seconds by F. Holman... but the Liverpool man [Robinson], who had hitherto practised the pure Breast Stroke, with his head well out of the water, decided to try the method adopted by [Holman]... of burying his head at each stroke, with such success that he still further reduced the time to 2 min. 41 $\frac{2}{5}$ secs. (NCASA, 1909, p. 25).

The gradual introduction of an undulating movement as the head was submerged and then lifted out of the water on every arm stroke and the introduction of a more rapid and

circular whip-type leg-action were both indicative of the ongoing development of breaststroke as a style of swimming that would have been increasingly recognizable to a modern audience.

By the early 1900s competitive swimming was a multi-stroke discipline that included recognized back swimming, breast swimming and 'free-style' events. Yet it is also important to appreciate that many swimming strokes were becoming increasingly rationalized during these periods as competitors began to experiment with different styles of swimming that were based upon more efficient scientific principles and that were broadly recognizable as more modern forms of backstroke, breaststroke and frontcrawl. In order to compete with the fastest swimmers of the early 1900s it was becoming increasingly necessary for competitors to adopt the more efficient and scientific techniques that were increasingly being utilized by larger numbers of competitors. As noted in previous chapters, it was only within the context of long-term trends towards lengthening chains of interdependence within and throughout the wider social network that larger numbers of people gradually began to demonstrate the necessary levels of self-restraint to facilitate the emergence of more rationalized and scientific forms of thought and enquiry (Elias, 2000). The use of more efficient, rationalized and scientific styles of swimming is an important indicator of the gradual emergence of swimming as a more modern and 'civilized' form of competitive sport.

The emergence of recognizable forms of frontcrawl, breaststroke and backstroke were the main developments to have occurred in stroke and technique during the early years of the twentieth century. Yet given that modern competitive swimming is also synonymous with the butterfly, it would be problematic not to comment briefly upon this fourth racing style. Indeed, many of the underpinning processes that would eventually contribute to the emergence of the butterfly were already evident by the early 1900s. In particular, it can be argued that the emergence of the butterfly was the unintended consequence of ongoing processes of rationalization and lengthening chains of interdependence within competitive swimming. Some competitors and coaches continued to experiment with emerging frontcrawl, breaststroke and backstroke techniques throughout the twentieth century in their search for more efficient methods of progressing through the water. During the 1930s some swimmers and coaches realized that there were no restrictions within existing breaststroke laws to prevent competitors from bringing both of their arms over the surface of the water within

breaststroke events provided that a simultaneous arm-movement continued to be utilized (Besford, 1971; Carlile, 1963). Competitors continued to experiment with various forms of breaststroke/butterfly over subsequent decades. Such developments contributed to the gradual emergence of the butterfly as a fourth racing style when it was eventually ratified as a separate swimming stroke by the international governing body of competitive swimming in 1952 (Besford, 1971; Carlile, 1963).

8.5 The Emergence of FINA

It has already been argued that there had been an ongoing trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence at international level within competitive swimming during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Such developments had been evident in relation to the increasing number of national associations that were formed in other countries and a gradual increase in the number of competitive events that took place between the representatives of different nations. However, there were also gradual trends towards greater cooperation between some national governing bodies during these periods. For example, a formal agreement was signed between the ASA and the Union des Sociétés Françaises de Sports Athlétiques (France) in 1906 that each association would accept the authority of their opposite number to govern competitive swimming within their own countries. Both associations also agreed to cooperate over various international matters within competitive swimming such as the suspension of competitors (ASA, 1907). The same agreement was reached between the ASA and the Deutsche Schwimm Verband (Germany) in 1908 (ASA, 1909).

It was within the context of these lengthening chains of interdependence that an international governing body was formed for competitive swimming in 1908. The ASA had been requested to undertake the management of competitive swimming for the Olympics of 1908 that were due to be held in London (ASA, 1907). The ASA sought to take advantage of this situation in order to hold a meeting between delegates of the various national governing bodies of competitive swimming that would be represented at the Olympics in order to discuss the possibilities for greater cooperation between such groups at international level (ASA, 1908). The inaugural meeting of the International Swimming Federation was subsequently held on the 19 July 1908 between delegates from the national swimming associations of England, Ireland, Wales, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary and Sweden (ASA, 1909). The International Swimming Federation is now known more commonly under the French

title of the FINA and is still recognized as the world governing body of competitive swimming today.

It was at this inaugural meeting that the first international laws were formulated between the delegates of these different nations. In particular, numerous regulations were outlined in order to specify which events would be recognized for the purpose of maintaining world records and the various conditions under which such events would have to take place in order for a new record to be deemed valid. Many of these conditions appear to have been based largely upon ASA laws with some regulations seemingly taken word-for-word from the handbook of the ASA (see ASA, 1909). In this respect, it would appear that the formation of FINA provided a basis for the gradual diffusion of certain ASA laws to other countries. However, one of the main differences within these inaugural laws was that FINA delegates had chosen to recognize imperial and metric distances for the purpose of maintaining world records. As in England, the majority of these events were now required to take place in swimming baths in order for a new record to be deemed valid (see table 8.14).

Table 8.14: Recognized Distances for World Records, 1908

Baths Events		
<i>Free-Style Events</i>	<i>Backstroke Events</i>	<i>Breaststroke Events</i>
100 Yards	100 Metres	100 Metres
100 Metres	150 Yards	200 Yards
150 Yards	400 Metres	200 Metres
200 Metres		500 Metres
220 Yards		
300 Yards		
300 Metres		
400 Metres		
440 Yards		
500 Yards		
500 Metres		
Open-Water Events		
<i>Free-Style Events</i>	<i>Backstroke Events</i>	<i>Breaststroke Events</i>
880 Yards		
1,000 Yards		
1,000 Metres		
1,500 Metres		
1 Mile		

Source: ASA (1909)

The formation of FINA was indicative of a gradual shift in the balance of power between national and international levels. There were ongoing developments within competitive swimming throughout the course of the twentieth century. The ratification of the butterfly as a separate swimming stroke in 1952 is a good example to illustrate this point. Yet there were numerous other developments that gradually occurred under the jurisdiction of FINA. For example, there were ongoing trends towards lengthening chains of interdependence at international level through the formation of increasing numbers of national governing bodies that became affiliated to FINA as well as the formation of additional groups such as the Ligue Europeenne de Natation (LEN) that was established in 1927 in order to administer competitive swimming at European level (Besford, 1971). Similarly, there were ongoing trends towards the formation of larger numbers of international competitions and events. Another notable development was the gradual 'metricization' of competitive swimming. FINA continued to recognize world records for various metric and imperial distances until 1969 when a ruling was passed that the only recognized events for world record performances would be those that were measured in metres (Besford, 1971). There were also gradual trends towards greater precision in the timing of competitors following ongoing technological advances during the course of the twentieth century.⁴ In addition, it had not been until 1912 that the first swimming event had been included for women in the Olympics (Besford, 1971; Gonsalves and LaMondia, 1999). Female competitors would gradually come to enjoy greater parity with men during the course of the twentieth century in the types of events that were available to them.

Although there were numerous ongoing developments within competitive swimming during the course of the twentieth century, the key point is that the formation of FINA was indicative of a gradual shift in the balance of power between national and international levels. The formation of FINA provided a basis for the government of competitive swimming to take place increasingly at international level throughout the course of the twentieth century. The aim of this thesis is to focus upon the various long-term processes that contributed to the initial sportization of competitive swimming within England. As such, the formation of FINA in 1908 was an important turning point because it was indicative of a gradual shift in the balance of power between national and

⁴ Competitors were timed to one-fifth of a second by the early 1900s (ASA, 1904). By the early 1970s many stopwatches were accurate to a tenth of a second and electronic timing – accurate to a thousandth of a second – was also being utilized within some competitions in those instances when such equipment was available (Besford, 1971).

international levels. It is beyond the scope of this investigation to trace ongoing developments within competitive swimming at any greater length than has already been indicated above. Nevertheless, there remains scope for ongoing developments under the jurisdiction of FINA within competitive swimming to provide a fruitful area for future enquiries.

Following the formation of FINA in 1908 competitive swimming was recognizable as a modern 'sportized' activity that incorporated most of the characteristics of modern competitive swimming from the typology that was advocated in Chapter 5. Competitive swimming was increasingly organized at international level and at national, district, county and local levels in England. A range of championships took place at all levels of competition and, in many instances, on an annual basis or four year cycle in the case of the Olympics. Such events were increasingly standardized, codified and rule-bound and were overseen by a range of designated officials who had the right to disqualify competitors. Such events took place over specific distances and the performances of competitors were routinely timed in order to maintain accurate lists of record performances. There had also been a gradual trend towards the indoorization of competitive swimming as many events increasingly took place in swimming baths. Such facilities were safer and cleaner than many traditional outdoor swimming locations and also provided a basis for the potential impact of natural factors such as currents and tides to be negated. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries competitive swimming was also increasingly viewed as an appropriate activity for women, within the confines of certain social constraints. In addition, competitive swimming had emerged as a multi-stroke discipline with recognized back swimming, breast swimming and 'free-style' events. Increasing numbers of competitors were also utilizing more rationalized swimming techniques that were broadly recognizable as more modern forms of backstroke, breaststroke and frontcrawl. In all such respects, it can be argued that swimming was recognizable as a modern competitive sport by 1908. The question that will be considered in the concluding chapter is whether the concept of sportization has provided an appropriate theoretical and conceptual basis to understand and explain the long-term development of competitive swimming.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1 Response to the Research Objectives: Summary of Findings

The first objective within this thesis was to examine the emergence of earlier swimming-based competitions in the period between the late sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Although general forms of swimming had been practiced within earlier eras, there was no evidence to indicate the occurrence of any swimming-based contests during the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. The first swimming-based wagers appear to have taken place in England during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The underpinning characteristics of these events were adduced from contemporary source material in order to describe the events that took place during these periods. These early wagers were relatively unstructured in comparison to modern forms of competitive swimming. Such events took place on a sporadic basis, between small numbers of men, for the terms of a cash wager. These contests generally took place in natural outdoor locations over courses that were not marked-out, confined or measured. The distances that were covered within such events do not appear to have been a matter of concern to contemporary swimmers. Indeed, many wagers often took place between two selected landmarks or under the requirement for competitors to swim as far as possible from a given starting point. In addition, it was rare for any precautions to be taken in order to safeguard competitors within these outdoor locations, which often meant that such events were relatively dangerous in comparison to modern forms of competitive swimming. There were some instances in which the performances of competitors were occasionally timed to the nearest hour or minute, but this does not appear to have been a regular occurrence. The rules underpinning these early wagers were often rather limited and varied from one event to another as competitors sought to negotiate the underpinning terms. Designated officials do not appear to have been appointed in order to oversee such events. In addition, it would seem that competitors were permitted to utilize any styles of swimming within these earlier events, with a relatively early form of the breaststroke appearing to be the predominant style during these earlier periods.

The second objective was to examine the developments that occurred as earlier competition-based forms of swimming gradually became more structured, standardized, codified and regulated during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Various developments were examined throughout the periods between the 1830s and 1908. For

example, it was argued that the emergence of swimming societies, clubs and associations had been important in facilitating the occurrence of larger numbers of competitions on a more widespread basis. The increasing provision of public baths throughout England was integral to such developments. Furthermore, the emergence of professional swimmers and their roles in the promotion of competition-based forms of swimming within such facilities was also examined. It was argued that the gradual emergence of the ASA as the NGB of competitive swimming had been important in underpinning the formation of standardized racing laws and the institution of recognized national championships. The emergence of an increasingly complex and structured network of organization, government and competition within the emerging sport of competitive swimming at national, district, county and local levels was also analyzed. The emergence of small numbers of competitive events for women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had been one aspect in the ongoing development of competitive swimming during these periods. Furthermore, the development of swimming strokes and the institution of separate breaststroke, backstroke and freestyle championships were also located within the context of these various ongoing social processes. In addition, it was possible to demonstrate that FINA had been established as the international governing body of competitive swimming in 1908. In accordance with such developments, it was argued that competitive swimming had gradually emerged as an increasingly organized and rule-bound form of modern sport during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The third objective was to test the relative adequacy of the concept of sportization as a possible explanation for the developments and/or trends that had been identified. In this manner, the long-term development of competitive swimming has been examined throughout this thesis from a figurational standpoint. Attention will now turn to drawing these theoretical arguments together in order to summarize the underpinning explanation for the development of swimming as a modern competitive sport that has been outlined during the course of this investigation. The relative adequacy of this theoretical framework will then be considered.

9.2 The Sportization of Swimming: A Summary

The emergence and development of swimming as a modern competitive sport has been explained as a long-term, blind and unplanned outcome resulting from the complex interweaving of wider civilizing processes in England in the periods between the

Middle-Ages and the early twentieth century. It was noted that in the periods between the late sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries swimming had been advocated for military purposes as well as reasons relating to health, cleanliness, pleasure and self-preservation. Swimming was also advocated for people who were employed around water and as an important skill for coming to the aid of others who were at risk of drowning. The increasing tendency for authors to advocate swimming for a range of purposes relating to health, hygiene and safety during these periods was indicative of a gradual trend towards a lowering in the threshold of repugnance and an increasing concern for the welfare of others. Such developments were consistent with the gradual emergence of more controlled and 'civilized' forms of behaviour within and throughout the wider social network in accordance with ongoing processes of state-formation, pacification and lengthening chains of interdependence throughout these periods (Elias, 2000). However, the emergence of swimming-based wagers during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries can also be explained in relation to the complex interweaving of these wider civilizing trends. In accordance with the lowering threshold of repugnance within and throughout the wider social network, people were increasingly expected to maintain greater self-control over their emotions and behaviour (Elias, 2000). Sport increasingly emerged as an area of social life in which it was permissible for people to experience heightened levels of tension-excitement, provided that such activities took place within the relatively controlled and 'civilized' limits that were consistent with the lowering threshold of repugnance throughout the wider social network (Elias, 1986c). Within this emerging social context, it has been argued that gambling upon the outcome of sporting events became an increasingly acceptable means for people to experience heightened levels of controlled tension-excitement. In keeping with these wider civilizing trends, some people gradually began to engage in swimming-based wagers during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In other words, these interweaving trends towards greater recognition of the potential benefits of swimming as well as the emergence of gambling as a means of generating more controlled forms of tension-excitement both contributed to the emergence of swimming-based wagers during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence within and throughout the wider social network is important for explaining the process of incipient modernization that occurred within the emerging sport of competitive swimming in the period between the 1830s and late 1860s. In accordance with wider civilizing trends

towards a lowering in the threshold of repugnance and lengthening chains of interdependence, it was noted that some members of the upper classes and the emerging bourgeoisie were becoming increasingly concerned with the welfare of others. These increasing concerns contributed to various developments within the emerging swimming-based network during these periods. For example, larger numbers of swimming societies, clubs and associations were gradually established in accordance with the increasing desire, amongst some people, to encourage larger numbers of people to learn how to swim. The relative freedom that many people enjoyed in relation to ongoing processes of parliamentarization and pacification within England had been important in facilitating an appropriate social context for the formation of such groups during the nineteenth century (Elias, 1986a). However, these lengthening chains of interdependence had also contributed to ongoing processes of industrialization and urbanization within England during the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century (Dunning and Sheard, 2005). In accordance with such developments, some members of the upper and middle classes also demonstrated increasing concern for the welfare of those from a lower social background, many of whom worked and lived in relatively poor conditions within emerging towns and cities. The introduction of the *Public Baths and Washhouses Act, 1846* was indicative of a civilizing trend towards greater concern amongst some members of the upper and middle classes for the health, cleanliness and welfare of those from the lower echelons of society. The introduction of this Act facilitated the provision of increasing numbers of public baths in towns and cities across the country. One of the unintended consequences of this development was the formation of increasing numbers of swimming clubs as some people sought to take advantage of these new facilities. The members of such clubs often taught other people how to swim and also arranged competitions as a further means of encouraging people to improve their swimming abilities. In addition, many of the men who worked within these emerging public baths were considered to be professional swimmers. These professionals taught their patrons how to swim and were permitted to arrange their own benefits and entertainments, which often included a range of swimming-based competitions for members of the public to enter. Many professional swimmers were also known to compete in swimming-based wagers. In other words, it was in accordance with wider civilizing trends that an increasingly complex network of swimmers and swimming clubs, societies and associations gradually emerged within England in the period between the late 1830s and late 1860s.

Throughout earlier periods, the rules underpinning many swimming-based competitions had often varied between different contests. In accordance with the emergence of a more complex swimming-based network, there was an increasing need for standardized rules and regulations in order to facilitate competition within and between different locations. The first standardized racing laws were established in London under the jurisdiction of a group of swimming clubs that founded the AMSC in 1869. In addition, the first recognized national championships were established under the jurisdiction of this organization. Such developments occurred within the context of increasing class-tensions in accordance with the shifting balance of power between members of the upper classes and the emerging bourgeoisie during the course of the nineteenth century (Dunning and Sheard, 2005). These lengthening chains of interdependence contributed to ongoing power-struggles within the emerging sport of competitive swimming over the amateur and professional status of competitors during the 1870s and early-to-mid 1880s. The AMSC was now known as the SAGB. Several clubs seceded from the SAGB following ongoing disputes over the definition of amateur status and established a rival ASU in 1884. It was only through ongoing power-struggles that members of the SAGB and ASU gradually came to an agreement over the issue of amateur status. These two organizations merged in order to form the ASA in 1886. In this manner, the emerging sport of competitive swimming gradually came to be recognized as an amateur activity under the standardized laws of the ASA and its predecessor bodies.

The formation of the ASA as the NGB of competitive swimming and agreement upon a common set of rules had been predicated upon long-term processes of pacification within and throughout the wider social network in the period between the Middle-Ages and the early twentieth century. In other words, the gradual trend towards the pacification of English society had been necessary in order to facilitate a wider social context in which competitive events could be held within and between different regions and standardized rules and regulations could be ratified for such events (Green et al., 2005). Such developments underpinned the emergence of swimming as an increasingly standardized and regulated sport under the jurisdiction of the newly established ASA in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In accordance with lengthening chains of interdependence within and throughout the wider social network, there had been a concomitant trend towards a strengthening of in-group and out-group identities within many regions of the country (Dunning and Sheard, 2005; Huggins, 2004). The gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence between different regions had

contributed to the emergence of ongoing power-struggles amongst different groups from northern, midland and southern areas within the emerging swimming-based network during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Over time, such disputes led to the emergence of separate northern, southern and midland districts under the jurisdiction of the ASA. Two additional district associations were later established for the north-eastern counties and western counties of England. In addition, various county associations were established under the jurisdiction of these newly established district associations during these periods. Such developments were indicative of a gradual trend towards greater hierarchical interdependence between different groups operating at national, district, county and local levels within England. This trend towards greater hierarchical interdependence contributed to the gradual emergence of swimming as an increasingly organized and codified modern sport within England during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as standardized laws were implemented at all levels of competition under the jurisdiction of the ASA and its affiliated associations.

The gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence within and throughout the wider social network also contributed towards several other developments within the emerging sport of competitive swimming during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, it was argued that lengthening chains of interdependence had underpinned a gradual trend towards the equalization of power-chances between men and women throughout the periods between the Middle-Ages and the early twentieth century. In accordance with such developments, some women gradually began to engage in small numbers of swimming-based competitions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition, there was a long-term trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence between different countries during these periods. The aim has not been to examine the diffusion of competitive swimming during the course of this investigation. However, it was briefly noted that national governing bodies had been established in various countries during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and that larger numbers of competitive events were gradually taking place between the representatives of different nations. The emergence of FINA was examined in relation to lengthening chains of interdependence at international level and the increasing requirement for the formation of standardized racing laws between different nations for the purpose of international competition.

The long-term development of swimming strokes and techniques has also been examined during the course of this investigation. In accordance with the gradual trend towards a lowering in the threshold of repugnance in the periods between the Middle-Ages and the early twentieth century, people were increasingly expected to control their behaviour and emotions. But another aspect of the tendency towards greater self-control was the increasing propensity for people to demonstrate an ability to become more detached from their immediate emotions in order to adopt more rationalized forms of thought and behaviour (Elias, 1987, 2000). Such developments were reflected in the increasing acceptance of scientific forms of measurement and knowledge. These ongoing processes of rationalization gradually came to be reflected in the swimming strokes and techniques that were utilized during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Over time, some swimmers gradually sought to refine existing techniques in accordance with their own observations and the implementation of scientific principles relating to the relative efficiency of different movements within the water. The gradual trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence within the emerging network of swimming clubs, societies and associations facilitated the development of more efficient swimming strokes as larger numbers of people were increasingly able to observe the techniques of others. Although competition-based forms of swimming gradually became more rule-bound during the nineteenth century, no rules were introduced in order to govern the movements that could be utilized within competitive events. The fact that competitors remained free to choose to their own methods of swimming within most competitive events had facilitated ongoing experiments with different strokes and techniques. Furthermore, the development of swimming techniques was indicative of ongoing power-struggles between competitors as the ability to swim in a more efficient manner reflected the opportunity for swimmers to enjoy greater power-chances over their rivals within competitive events. It was the interweaving of these interrelated processes of rationalization and lengthening chains of interdependence that contributed to the gradual emergence of more efficient swimming strokes and techniques during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

9.3 Reflections on the Sportization of Swimming

During the course of this investigation it has been possible to demonstrate that modern competitive swimming gradually emerged in England, over time, from antecedent swimming-based wagers. In other words, it has been possible to adduce through empirical investigation that there was a discernible trend towards the emergence of

swimming as an increasingly structured, organized and rule-bound modern sport throughout the periods between the late sixteenth and early twentieth centuries. This process of empirical investigation has provided an important basis to contribute to existing knowledge in relation to some areas that other authors have previously examined as well as additional topics that were unknown or under-researched within existing literature. In this manner, the concept of sportization has afforded a useful and cohesive framework for examining a wide range of long-term developments relating to the emergence of swimming as a modern competitive sport. In addition, this investigation constitutes an important initial contribution towards a more overt theoretical explanation for the long-term development of competitive swimming. This is the first sociological analysis that has been conducted on the development of swimming as a modern competitive sport. The underpinning explanation for such developments has been based upon the interweaving of complex civilizing processes relating to state-formation, pacification, lengthening chains of interdependence and a gradual lowering in the threshold of repugnance in the periods between the Middle-Ages and the early twentieth century. Throughout this thesis, there appears to have been a relatively high degree of reality-congruence between empirical data and the theoretical concept of sportization. In this manner, the concept of sportization has afforded an appropriate framework for contributing to existing empirical knowledge whilst also attempting to explain the long-term development of swimming as a modern competitive sport from a more overt theoretical standpoint than has hitherto been attempted.

It was noted at the outset of this investigation that there was scope to examine the relative adequacy of the concept of sportization as a possible explanation for the emergence and development of many non-contact sports and activities, such as competitive swimming. In this manner, it is possible to comment upon the contention that figurational sociologists have tended to over-emphasize the regulation of overt forms of physical violence as an underpinning explanation for the development of modern sports (Stokvis, 1992, 2005). As a predominantly non-contact sport, the regulation of overt physical violence has not been a major theme within the emerging sport of competitive swimming. It was noted in Chapter 7 that specific rules had been introduced within the inaugural Laws of Amateur Swimming in 1869 to regulate against fouling within swimming contests. In this manner, it is evident that there had been a felt need to ban physical contact within the emerging sport. But it was also argued that intentional contact between competitors did not appear to have been a widespread issue

within contemporary texts and reports. Accordingly, the lack of such reports might have been indicative of the increasing level of self-control that had been expected amongst competitors within such events, given that swimmers had not been segregated with lane ropes during these periods. However, the issue of violence within swimming-based competitions has not been a central or recurring theme within this investigation.

Even though the increasing regulation and self-control of violence has not been a common theme, the concept of sportization has still provided a useful framework for investigating the development of swimming as a modern competitive sport. It has been argued that the gradual pacification of the wider social network in the periods between the Middle-Ages and the early twentieth century was an important aspect in the emergence and development of swimming as a modern competitive sport. This point has been illustrated on numerous occasions in relation to developments such as the emergence of swimming clubs, the formation of the ASA and the institution of standardized rules and regulations. Such developments coincide with the contention amongst figurational sociologists that ‘a relatively pacified social setting can be seen as a precondition for agreement on rules and, as a corollary, intra- and inter-regional competition’ (Green et al., 2005, p.121). Wider social processes of pacification are based upon interweaving civilizing processes that cannot be reduced exclusively to the regulation and increasing social control of the means of violence (Green et al., 2005). Figurational sociologists might have examined the gradual regulation of overt physical violence in many contact sports and activities such as rugby and boxing (see, for example, Dunning and Sheard, 2005; Sheard, 1997, 2004). Yet this does not mean that figurational sociologists have placed too great an emphasis on the increasing regulation of violence within the concept of sportization. In other words, it can be argued that the concept of sportization affords an appropriate framework to examine the long-term development of non-contact sports and activities such as modern competitive swimming in relation to the occurrence of wider civilizing trends.

9.4 Limitations and Areas for Further Research

The conclusions that have been drawn on the basis of this thesis must be placed into an appropriate context through consideration of the potential limitations of this study and scope for future research. This thesis is not intended as a definitive analysis of the sportization of swimming. Indeed, it was noted in earlier chapters that it is not possible to produce final or conclusive explanations for such developments (Murphy et al., 2000).

The aim has been to strive towards a more reality-congruent explanation for the various trends and developments that have been examined during the course of this investigation. Yet there have been limitations in the process of conducting this study and there remain numerous areas for further research.

It has proved somewhat difficult to uncover information relating to the occurrence of early swimming-based wagers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Eleven reports of such events were found during the course of this investigation. This is a larger range of information than has hitherto been examined by other authors. Yet there remains scope to further investigate the occurrence of these earlier antecedent events. In particular, it would be interesting to determine whether a more detailed 'case-study' approach focussing predominantly upon these earlier periods might provide a more adequate basis to examine the gradual emergence of swimming-based wagers during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in greater detail. Similarly, might it prove possible to determine whether any such events had taken place prior to these periods?

The aim within this thesis was to focus upon initial processes of sportization rather than the diffusion of competitive swimming. This approach was appropriate from a theoretical standpoint and was also important in providing a basis to focus in greater detail upon the initial emergence of competitive swimming. Yet there were also limitations stemming from this type of approach. For example, it was noted in the previous chapter that there appears to have been a gradual trend towards the diffusion of competitive swimming in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This was evident in relation to the formation of national governing bodies in various countries in the British Isles, Europe, North America, Australasia and South Africa during these periods. Swimmers from other countries were also known to travel to England and to compete in ASA national championships. Moreover, it was noted that Australian and American swimmers were also making notable contributions to the development of modern frontcrawl techniques during these periods. It is difficult to determine the potential impact of such developments without also undertaking a more detailed examination of interrelated processes of diffusion. In other words, there remains empirical and theoretical scope to examine the lengthening chains of interdependence that facilitated the diffusion of more structured and organized forms of competitive swimming within and between different nations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Consideration of such developments might also facilitate a more

detailed understanding of various aspects relating to the ongoing sportization of swimming in England.

An examination of the diffusion of competitive swimming might also prove important for examining the ongoing development of competitive swimming under the jurisdiction of FINA in the periods after 1908. Competitive swimming was recognizable as a modern sport by that point. Nevertheless, there were ongoing developments within the structure and management of this sport over the intervening period to the present day. In particular, there was an ongoing trend towards lengthening chains of interdependence at international level as larger numbers of national and international organizations were established as well as an increasing network of competitive events. There were also ongoing developments in the types of rules and regulations that were enforced under the jurisdiction of FINA within competitive swimming. For example, it might prove useful to examine those processes that contributed to the requirement for lane ropes to be introduced in order to separate swimmers. This is one of the more noticeable requirements within modern competitive swimming that had not been evident within contemporary laws or insisted upon within competitive events in 1908. Some authors have indicated that lane ropes were gradually introduced in the early 1920s (Gonsalves and LaMondia, 1999). Similarly, it might prove instructive to examine those processes that contributed to the gradual 'metricization' of competitive swimming. For example, it was noted in the previous chapter that FINA delegates had recognized imperial and metric distances for competitive events in 1908. Besford (1971) has indicated that all events that had still been measured in imperial distances were gradually withdrawn and discontinued in the period between the late 1940s and late 1960s. Indeed, FINA introduced a ruling in 1969 that the only recognized events for world record performances would henceforth be measured in metres (Besford, 1971). Such developments were important as swimming continued to become more structured and organized throughout the twentieth century. In this manner, it is also a limitation that such developments have fallen beyond the remit of this investigation, based predominantly upon processes of diffusion. There remains scope to examine the interweaving processes and lengthening chains of interdependence that contributed to the ongoing development and diffusion of modern competitive swimming in the periods between 1908 and the present day.

The gradual trend towards greater female participation within competitive swimming during the twentieth century – and the underpinning power-struggles that facilitated such developments – is another potential area for further investigation, particularly from a figurational perspective. It was noted in the previous chapter that some national, district and county championships had been instituted for women in England in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, such events were limited in number and often restricted to relatively short distances. Moreover, there were no swimming events for women at international level in the Olympics. The concept of gender has received rather limited attention from figurational sociologists to date. Accordingly, there remains scope to examine the gradual trend towards greater female involvement in competitive swimming during the twentieth century from a figurational perspective. Such research would provide an important basis to further contribute to existing figurational knowledge in relation to issues of gender.

It is evident from the preceding comments that there are numerous potential areas for further investigation stemming from the research that has been conducted within this thesis. In other words, this investigation is intended as a starting point to facilitate further empirical and theoretical debate relating to the development of swimming as a modern competitive sport. In this manner, it is hoped that the research conducted during the course of this investigation might also contribute in a broader sense to existing debates and the current fund of sociological knowledge relating to the sportization of traditional activities and pastimes.

References

- Amateur Swimming Association (1902). *Handbook for 1902*. London, United Kingdom: Boot & Son.
- Amateur Swimming Association (1903). *Handbook for 1903*. London, United Kingdom: Boot & Son.
- Amateur Swimming Association (1904). *Handbook for 1904*. London, United Kingdom: Boot & Son.
- Amateur Swimming Association (1905). *Handbook for 1905*. London, United Kingdom: Boot & Son.
- Amateur Swimming Association (1906). *Handbook for 1906*. London, United Kingdom: Boot & Son.
- Amateur Swimming Association (1907). *Handbook for 1907*. London, United Kingdom: Boot & Son.
- Amateur Swimming Association (1908). *Handbook for 1908*. London, United Kingdom: Boot & Son.
- Amateur Swimming Association (1909). *Handbook for 1909*. London, United Kingdom: Hanbury, Tomsett & Co.
- Amateur Swimming Association (2004). *Regionalisation: ASA Pilots 2004/5*. Retrieved January 7, 2012 from <http://www.sportcentric.com/vsite/vcontent/page/custom/0,8510,5026-149027-166243-30352-123088-custom-item,00.html>
- Anonymous (1760). *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book, Intended for the Amusement of Little Master Tommy, and Pretty Miss Polly*. (10th ed). London, United Kingdom: J. Newbery.
- Anonymous (1773). *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature, for the Year 1766*. (Revised ed.). Dublin, Ireland: H. Saunders, W. Sleater, D. Chamberlaine, J. Potts, J. Williams, W. Colles, T. Walker, and C. Jenkin.
- Anonymous (1833). *Twelve Maxims on Swimming*. London, United Kingdom: Charles Tilt.
- Anonymous (1846). *A Handbook for Bathers; or Hints on the Various Kinds of Baths; Sea, Cold-Water, Shower, Douche, Warm, Vapour, Medicinal, &c. And the Cases in which they are Beneficial and in which they are Injurious. By a Medical*

- Member of Her Majesty's Household. With Directions for Swimming.* London, United Kingdom: E. Churton.
- Anonymous (1882). *Swimming, Skating and Rinking.* London, United Kingdom: Ward, Lock & Co.
- Anonymous (1890). *Every Boy's Book. The New Art of Swimming Made Easy.* London, United Kingdom: W.S. Fortey.
- Armbruster, D.A., Allen, R.H. and Billingsley, H.S. (1968). *Swimming and Diving.* (5th ed.). London, United Kingdom: Kaye and Ward.
- Bailey, P. (1978). *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830 – 1885.* London, United Kingdom: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Benton, T. and Craib, I. (2001). *Philosophy of Social Science: The Philosophical Foundations of Social Thought.* Basingstoke, United Kingdom: Palgrave.
- Besford, P. (1971). *Encyclopaedia of Swimming.* London, United Kingdom: Robert Hale.
- Bilsborough, P. (2000). Swimming. In G. Jarvie and J. Burnett (Eds.), *Sport, Scotland and the Scots* (pp.229-247). East Lothian, United Kingdom: Tuckwell Press.
- Birley, D. (1993). *Sport and the making of Britain.* Manchester, United Kingdom: Manchester University Press.
- Birley, D. (1995). *Land of Sport and Glory: Sport and British society, 1887-1910.* Manchester, United Kingdom: Manchester University Press.
- Birrell, S. (1990). Women of Color, Critical Autobiography, and Sport. In M.A. Messner and D.F. Sabo (Eds.), *Sport, Men, and the Gender Order* (pp.185-200). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Birrell, S. (2000). Feminist Theories for Sport. In J. Coakley and E. Dunning (Eds.), *Handbook of Sports Studies* (pp.61-76). London, United Kingdom: SAGE.
- Birrell, S. and Theberge, N. (1994a). Feminist Resistance and Transformation in Sport. In D.M. Costa and S.R. Guthrie (Eds.), *Women and Sport: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (pp.361-376). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Birrell, S. and Theberge, N. (1994b). Ideological Control of Women in Sport. In D.M. Costa and S.R. Guthrie (Eds.), *Women and Sport: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (pp.341-360). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Bloyce, D. (2004a). Research is a Messy Process: A Case-Study of a Figurational Sociology Approach to Conventional Issues in Social Science Research Methods.

- Graduate Journal of Social Science*, 1(1), 144-166. Retrieved from <http://www.gjss.org>
- Bloyce, D. (2004b). Baseball: Myths and Modernization. In E. Dunning, D. Malcolm and I. Waddington (Eds.), *Sport Histories: Figurational Studies of the Development of Modern Sports* (pp.88-103). Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Bocock, H. (1888). *Swimming Cards. Complete Self-Instructor to the Art of Swimming for Both Sexes*. (Volume 1). Gainsborough, United Kingdom: Hannan.
- Brailsford, D. (1991). *Sport, Time, and Society: The British at Play*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Brailsford, D. (1992). *British Sport: A Social History*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Lutterworth Press.
- Brohm, J.M. (1978). *Sport: A Prison of Measured Time*. Pluto Press.
- Brohm, J.M. (2007). Theses Towards a Political Sociology of Sport. In A. Tomlinson (Ed.), *The Sport Studies Reader* (pp.13-19). Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Brooke, C.W.A. (1896). *How to Teach Swimming in Class together with Directions, Diagrams, Hints, etc., for those Learning to Swim by Themselves*. London, United Kingdom: George Philip.
- Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods*. (3rd ed.). Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Cameron, J.M. (1990). *The History of Kent County Amateur Swimming Association*. Beaconsfield, United Kingdom: Chiltern Publishing.
- Carlile, F. (1963). *Forbes Carlile on Swimming*. London, United Kingdom: Pelham Books.
- Clarke, J. and Critcher, C. (1985). *The Devil Makes Work: Leisure in Capitalist Britain*. Basingstoke, United Kingdom: Palgrave.
- Clias, P.H. (1825). *An Elementary Course of Gymnastic Exercises*. (4th ed.). London, United Kingdom: Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper.
- Cobbett, M. (1890). *Swimming*. London, United Kingdom: George Bell.
- Cock, S. (2006). *Swimming and Bathing in the Civilizing Process*. (Unpublished Master's Dissertation). University of Chester, United Kingdom.
- Cock, S. (2008, September). *Swimming and Bathing: From the 'Middle Ages' to the Early Twentieth Century*. Paper presented at the annual conference of the British Society of Sports History, Eastbourne, United Kingdom.

- Collins, T. (2005). History, Theory and the 'Civilizing Process'. *Sport in History*, 25(2), 289-306.
- Collins, T. and Vamplew, W. (2002). *Mud, Sweat and Beers: A Cultural History of Sport and Alcohol*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Berg.
- Colwin, C.M. (1992). *Swimming into the 21st Century*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Colwin, C.M. (2002). *Breakthrough Swimming*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Connolly, J. and Dolan, P. (2010). The Civilizing and Sportization of Gaelic Football in Ireland: 1884-2009. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 23(4), 570-598.
- Cooper, I. (2004). Game, Set and Match: Lawn Tennis, from Early Origins to Modern Sport. In E. Dunning, D. Malcolm and I. Waddington (Eds.), *Sport Histories: Figurational Studies of the Development of Modern Sports* (pp.104-120). Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Costa, D.M. and Guthrie, S.R. (1994). Feminist Perspectives: Intersections with Women and Sport. In D.M. Costa and S.R. Guthrie (Eds.), *Women and Sport: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (pp.235-252). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Cruys, F. (1698). *Ars Nova Natandi, or, New Swimming Girdles, that will Safely Support a Man from Drowning, in Any Kind of Water, with Many Other Conveniencies*. Bristol, England: Will. Bonny.
- Curry, G., Dunning, E. and Sheard, K. (2006). Sociological versus Empiricist History: Some Comments on Tony Collins's 'History, Theory and the "Civilizing Process"'. *Sport in History*, 26(1), 110-123.
- Curtis, J. (1986). Isn't It Difficult to Support Some of the Notions of "The Civilizing Process"? A Response to Dunning. In C. Roger Rees and A.W. Miracle (Eds.), *Sport and Social Theory* (pp.57-66). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Daniels, C.M., Johansson, H. and Sinclair, A. (1907). *How to Swim and Save Life*. London, United Kingdom: British Sports Publishing Co.
- Day, D.J. (2008). *From Barclay to Brickett: Coaching Practices and Coaching Lives in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century England*. (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis). De Montfort University, United Kingdom.
- Day, D.J. (2010). London Swimming Professors: Victorian Craftsmen and Aquatic Entrepreneurs. *Sport in History*, 30(1), 32-54.
- Denscombe, M. (2007). *The Good Research Guide: For Small-Scale Social Research Projects*. (3rd ed.). Maidenhead, United Kingdom: Open University Press, McGraw-Hill Education.

- Dudgeon, R.E. (1870). *The Swimming Baths of London*. London, United Kingdom: Henry Turner.
- Dunning, E. (1971). The Development of Modern Football. In E. Dunning (Ed.), *The Sociology of Sport: A Selection of Readings* (pp.133-151). London, United Kingdom: Cass.
- Dunning, E. (1986a). Social Bonding and Violence in Sport. In N. Elias and E. Dunning (Eds.), *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process* (pp.224-244). Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell.
- Dunning, E. (1986b). Preface. In N. Elias and E. Dunning (Eds.), *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process* (pp.1-18). Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell.
- Dunning, E. (1989). The Figural Approach to Leisure and Sport. In C. Rojek (Ed.), *Leisure for Leisure: Critical Essays* (pp.36-52). Basingstoke, United Kingdom: MacMillan.
- Dunning, E. (1992). Figural Sociology and the Sociology of Sport: Some Concluding Remarks. In E. Dunning and C. Rojek (Eds.), *Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process: Critique and Counter-Critique* (pp.221-284). Basingstoke, United Kingdom: MacMillan.
- Dunning, E. (1993). Sport in the Civilising Process: Aspects of the Development of Modern Sport. In E. Dunning, J. Maguire and R. Pearton (Eds.), *The Sports Process: A Comparative and Developmental Approach* (pp.39-70). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Dunning, E. (1999). *Sport Matters: Sociological Studies of Sport, Violence and Civilization*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Dunning, E. (2002). Figural Contributions to the Sociological Study of Sport. In J. Maguire and K. Young (Eds.), *Theory, Sport & Society* (pp.211-238). Oxford, United Kingdom: Elsevier Science.
- Dunning, E. (2005). *"Figuring" Modern Sport: Autobiographical and Historical Reflections on Sport, Violence and Civilisation*. Chester, United Kingdom: Chester Academic Press.
- Dunning, E. and Curry, G. (2004). Public Schools, Status Rivalry and the Development of Football. In E. Dunning, D. Malcolm and I. Waddington (Eds.), *Sport Histories: Figural Studies of the Development of Modern Sports* (pp.31-52). Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.

- Dunning, E., Maguire, J. and Pearton, R. (1993). Introduction: Sports in Comparative and Developmental Perspective. In E. Dunning, J. Maguire and R. Pearton (Eds.), *The Sports Process: A Comparative and Developmental Approach* (pp.1-10). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Dunning, E., Malcolm, D. and Waddington, I. (2004a). Introduction: History, Sociology and the Sociology of Sport: The Work of Norbert Elias. In E. Dunning, D. Malcolm and I. Waddington (Eds.), *Sport Histories: Figurational Studies of the Development of Modern Sports* (pp.1-14). Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Dunning, E., Malcolm, D. and Waddington, I. (2004b). Conclusion: Figurational Sociology and the Development of Modern Sport. In E. Dunning, D. Malcolm and I. Waddington (Eds.), *Sport Histories: Figurational Studies of the Development of Modern Sports* (pp.191-206). Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Dunning, E. and Sheard, K. (2005). *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*. (2nd ed.). Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Early English Books Online (2011). *What is Early English Books Online?* Retrieved January 25, 2011 from <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/about/about.htm>
- Eichberg, H. (1998). The Enclosure of the Body: The Historical Relativity of 'Health', 'Nature' and the Environment of Sport. In J. Bale and C. Philo (Eds.), *Body Cultures: Essays on Sport, Space and Identity: Henning Eichberg* (pp.47-67). Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Elias, N. (1978). *What is Sociology?* New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Elias, N. (1986a). Introduction. In N. Elias and E. Dunning (Eds.), *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process* (pp.19-62). Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell.
- Elias, N. (1986b). The Genesis of Sport as a Sociological Problem. In N. Elias and E. Dunning (Eds.), *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process* (pp.126-149). Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell.
- Elias, N. (1986c). An Essay on Sport and Violence. In N. Elias and E. Dunning (Eds.), *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process* (pp.150-174). Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell.
- Elias, N. (1987). *Involvement and Detachment*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Basil Blackwell.
- Elias, N. (1991). *The Society of Individuals*. London, United Kingdom: Continuum International.

- Elias, N. (2000). *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*. (Revised ed.). Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell.
- Elias, N. (2006). *The Court Society*. (Revised ed.). Dublin, Ireland: University College Dublin Press.
- Elias, N. and Dunning, E. (1986a). Folk Football in Medieval and Early Modern Britain. In N. Elias and E. Dunning (Eds.), *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process* (pp.175-190). Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell.
- Elias, N. and Dunning, E. (1986b). The Quest for Excitement in Leisure. In N. Elias and E. Dunning (Eds.), *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process* (pp.63-90). Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell.
- Fenning, D. and Malham, J. (1788). *The Young Man's New Universal Companion; Or, Gentleman's Pocket Intelligencer*. London, United Kingdom: S. Crowder.
- Finnegan, R. (2006). Using Documents. In R. Sapsford and V. Jupp (Eds.), *Data Collection and Analysis* (pp.138-151). (2nd ed.). London, United Kingdom: SAGE.
- Finney, J. (1886). *Hints on Swimming*. Oldham, United Kingdom: W.E. Clegg.
- Fothergill, A. (1799). *An Essay on the Preservation of Shipwrecked Mariners*. London, United Kingdom: John Nichols.
- Fox, M.C. (2003). *Swimming*. Farmington Hills, MI: Lucent Books.
- Franklin, A. (1996). On Fox-hunting and Angling: Norbert Elias and the 'Sportisation' Process. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 9(4), 432-456.
- Frost, J. (1816). *Scientific Swimming; Being a Series of Practical Instructions, on an Original and Progressive Plan, by which the Art of Swimming may be Readily Attained, with Every Advantage of Power in the Water*. London, United Kingdom: Darton, Harvey, and Darton.
- Gale Cengage Learning (2009a). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online: Unprecedented Insight into a Vital Era*. Retrieved January 25, 2011 from <http://www.gale.cengage.com/pdf/facts/ECCO.pdf>
- Gale Cengage Learning (2009b). *The Times Digital Archive, 1785-1985*. Retrieved January 25, 2011 from <http://www.gale.cengage.com/pdf/facts/GML37709.pdf>
- Gale Cengage Learning (n.d.[a]). *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers*. Retrieved January 25, 2011 from <http://www.gale.cengage.com/tlist/burney.xls>
- Gale Cengage Learning (n.d.[b]). *British Library Newspapers*. Retrieved January 25, 2011 from http://www.gale.cengage.com/tlist/bl_ncnp.xls
- Gale Cengage Learning (n.d.[c]). *19th Century British Library Newspapers Part II*. Retrieved January 25, 2011 from http://www.gale.cengage.com/tlist/bl_ncnp2.xls

- Gale Cengage Learning (n.d.[d]). *19th Century UK Periodicals: Series 1 – New Readerships*. Retrieved January 25, 2011 from http://www.gale.cengage.com/tlist/ncnp_uk.pdf
- Giulianotti, R. (2005). *Sport: A Critical Sociology*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Polity Press.
- Gonsalves, K. and LaMondia, S. (1999). *First to the Wall: 100 Years of Olympic Swimming*. East Longmeadow, MA: FreeStyle Publications.
- Gordon, I. and Inglis, S. (2009). *Great Lengths: The Historic Indoor Swimming Pools of Britain*. Swindon, United Kingdom: English Heritage.
- Goudsblom, J. (1977). *Sociology in the Balance: A Critical Essay*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Basil Blackwell.
- Gratton, C. and Jones, I. (2004). *Research Methods for Sport Studies*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Gray, D.E. (2004). *Doing Research in the Real World*. London, United Kingdom: SAGE.
- Green, K., Liston, K., Smith, A. and Bloyce, D. (2005). Violence, Competition and the Emergence and Development of Modern Sports: Reflections on the Stokvis-Malcolm Debate. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 40(1), 119-123.
- Gruneau, R. (1999). *Class, Sports, and Social Development*. (Revised ed.). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Guttman, A. (1978). *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Guttman, A. (2000). The Development of Modern Sports. In J. Coakley and E. Dunning (Eds.), *Handbook of Sports Studies* (pp.248-259). London, United Kingdom: SAGE.
- Hall, M.A. (1990). How Should We Theorize Gender in the Context of Sport? In M.A. Messner and D.F. Sabo (Eds.), *Sport, Men, and the Gender Order* (pp.223-240). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Hall, M.A. (1996). *Feminism and Sporting Bodies: Essays on Theory and Practice*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Hamilton, C. (1906). *Swimming for Women and Girls: A Handbook of Practical Instruction*. London, United Kingdom: L. Upcott Gill.
- Hanway, J. (1788). *Prudential Instructions to the Poor Boys, Fitted Out by the Corporation of the Marine Society*. London, United Kingdom: Stranan and Preston.

- Hargreaves, J. (1986). *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Polity.
- Hargreaves, J.A. (1992). Sex, Gender and the Body in Sport and Leisure: Has There Been a Civilizing Process? In E. Dunning and C. Rojek (Eds.), *Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process: Critique and Counter-Critique* (pp.161-182). Basingstoke, United Kingdom: MacMillan.
- Hargreaves, J.A. (1993). The Victorian Cult of the Family and the Early Years of Female Sport. In E. Dunning, J. Maguire and R. Pearton (Eds.), *The Sports Process: A Comparative and Developmental Approach* (pp.71-84). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Hargreaves, J.A. (1994). *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Hargreaves, J.A. (2000). *Heroines of Sport: The Politics of Difference and Identity*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Harris, H.A. (1975). *Sport in Britain: Its Origins and Development*. London, United Kingdom: Stanley Paul.
- Henn, M., Weinstein, M. and Foard, N. (2009). *A Critical Introduction to Social Research*. (2nd ed.). London, United Kingdom: SAGE.
- Hoggan, F.E. (1879). *Swimming and its Relation to the Health of Women*. London, United Kingdom: Women's Printing Society.
- Holbein, M.A. (1903). *Swimming*. London, United Kingdom: C. Arthur Pearson.
- Holt, R. (1989). *Sport and the British: A Modern History*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Holt, R. (1996). Sport and History: The State of the Subject in Britain. *Twentieth Century British History*, 7(2), 231-252.
- Horne, J. and Jary, D. (1987). The Figural Sociology of Sport and Leisure of Elias and Dunning: an exposition and a critique. In J. Horne, D. Jary and A. Tomlinson (Eds.), *Sport, Leisure and Social Relations* (pp.86-112). London, United Kingdom: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Huggins, M. (2004). *The Victorians and Sport*. London, United Kingdom: Hambledon and London.
- Hughes, T. (1820). *The Whole Art of Swimming*. Cornhill, United Kingdom: W. Lewis.
- Hutchinson, R. (1996). *Empire Games: The British Invention of Twentieth-Century Sport*. Edinburgh, United Kingdom: Mainstream.

- Jarvie, G. and Maguire, J. (1994). *Sport and Leisure in Social Thought*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Jarvis, J.A. (1902). *The Art of Swimming, with Notes on Water Polo and Aids to Life Saving*. London, United Kingdom: Hutchinson.
- Jordanova, L. (2000). *History in Practice*. London, United Kingdom: Arnold.
- Kay, T. (2003). Sport and Gender. In B. Houlihan (Ed.), *Sport and Society: A Student Introduction* (pp.89-104). London, United Kingdom: SAGE.
- Keil, I. and Wix, D. (1996). *In the Swim: The Amateur Swimming Association from 1869 to 1994*. Loughborough, United Kingdom: Swimming Times.
- Kellermann, A., Henry, W., Daniels, C.M., Sinclair, A., Wolffe, J., Griffin, H.H. and Piggott, F.N. (1906). *Swimming for Health, Exercise and Pleasure*. London, United Kingdom: Gale and Polden.
- Kenworthy, H. (1846). *A Treatise on the Utility of Swimming, Containing Instructions in the Acquirement of the Art, with Various Anecdotes of Celebrated Swimmers*. London, United Kingdom: C. Hedgman.
- Kiku, K. (2004). The Development of Sport in Japan: Martial Arts and Baseball. In E. Dunning, D. Malcolm and I. Waddington (Eds.), *Sport Histories: Figurational Studies of the Development of Modern Sports* (pp.153-171). Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Kilminster, R. (2004). From Distance to Detachment: Knowledge and Self-Knowledge in Elias's theory of Involvement and Detachment. In S. Loyal and S. Quilley (Eds.), *The Sociology of Norbert Elias* (pp.25-41). Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Lake, R.J. (2009). Real Tennis and the Civilizing Process. *Sport in History*, 29(4), 553-576.
- Lasch, C. (1985). Review Essay: Historical Sociology and the Myth of Maturity: Norbert Elias's "Very Simple Formula". *Theory and Society*, 14(5), 705-720.
- Leahy, J. (1875). *The Art of Swimming in the Eton Style*. London, United Kingdom: MacMillan.
- Lenskyj, H. (1986). *Out of Bounds: Women, Sport and Sexuality*. Toronto, Canada: Women's Press.
- Light, R. and Rockwell, T. (2005). The Cultural Origins of Competitive Swimming in Australia. *Sporting Traditions*, 22(1), 21-37.

- London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games Limited (c.2007-2012). *London 2012: Olympic Sport Competition Schedule*. Retrieved April 27, 2012 from <http://www.london2012.com/olympic-schedule>
- London Swimming Club (1861). *A Manual Compiled Under the Sanction of the London Swimming Club for the Use of Members and Others*. London, United Kingdom: W.H. Leverell.
- Love, C. (2003). *The Reflecting Pool of Society: Aquatic Sport, Leisure and Recreation in England, c.1800-1918*. (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis). University of York, United Kingdom.
- Love, C. (2007a). Introduction. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 24(5), 563-567.
- Love, C. (2007b). Local Aquatic Empires: The Municipal Provision of Swimming Pools in England, 1828-1918. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 24(5), 620-629.
- Love, C. (2007c). Holborn, Lambeth and Manchester: Three Case Studies in Municipal Swimming Pool Provision. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 24(5), 630-642.
- Love, C. (2007d). Swimming and Gender in the Victorian World. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 24(5), 586-602.
- Love, C. (2007e). Swimming at the Clarendon Schools. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 24(5), 643-653.
- Love, C. (2007f). State Schools, Swimming and Physical Training. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 24(5), 654-666.
- Love, C. (2007g). 'Whomsoever You See in Distress': Swimming, Saving Life and the Rise of the Royal Life Saving Society. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 24(5), 667-681.
- Love, C. (2007h). Swimming, Service to the Empire and Baden-Powell's Youth Movements. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 24(5), 682-692.
- Love, C. (2007i). Taking a Refreshing Dip: Health, Cleanliness and the Empire. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 24(5), 693-706.
- Love, C. (2007j). An Overview of the Development of Swimming in England, c.1750-1918. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 24(5), 568-585.
- Love, C. (2007k). Social Class and the Swimming World: Amateurs and Professionals. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 24(5), 603-619.

- Maguire, J. (1988). Doing Figural Sociology: Some Preliminary Observations on Methodological Issues and Sensitizing Concepts. *Leisure Studies*, 7(2), 187-193.
- Maguire, J. (1991). Towards a Sociological Theory of Sport and the Emotions: A Figural Perspective. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 26(1), 25-35.
- Malcolm, D. (2002). Cricket and Civilizing Processes: A Response to Stokvis. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 37(1), 37-57.
- Malcolm, D. (2004). Cricket: Civilizing and De-civilizing Processes in the Imperial Game. In E. Dunning, D. Malcolm and I. Waddington (Eds.), *Sport Histories: Figural Studies of the Development of Modern Sports* (pp.71-87). Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Malcolm, D. (2005). The Emergence, Codification and Diffusion of Sport: Theoretical and Conceptual Issues. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 40(1), 115-118.
- Malcolm, D. (2008). A Response to Vamplew and Some Comments on the Relationship Between Sports Historians and Sociologists of Sport. *Sport in History*, 28(2), 259-279.
- Martin, E. (1876). *Treatise on the Theory of Swimming, Made so Easy that it can be Reduced to Practice at Once*. Montreal, Canada: Lovell.
- Mason, T. (1989). Introduction. In T. Mason (Ed.), *Sport in Britain: A Social History* (pp.1-11). Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- May, T. (2001). *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process*. (3rd ed.). Maidenhead, United Kingdom: Open University Press, McGraw-Hill Education.
- McCrone, K.E. (1984). Play Up! Play Up! and Play the Game! Sport at the Late Victorian Girls' Public School. *Journal of British Studies*, 23(2), 106-134.
- McCrone, K.E. (1988). *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, 1870-1914*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- McCrone, K.E. (1990). Emancipation or Recreation? The Development of Women's Sport at the University of London. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 7(2), 204-229.
- Mennell, S. (1998). *Norbert Elias: An Introduction*. Dublin, Republic of Ireland: University College Dublin Press.
- Mennell, S. (2008). The Contributions of Eric Dunning to the Sociology of Sport: The Foundations. In D. Malcolm and I. Waddington (Eds.), *Matters of Sport: Essays in Honour of Eric Dunning* (pp.12-30). Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.

- Middleton, C. (1595). *A Short Introduction for to Learne to Swimme*. London, England: James Roberts for Edward White.
- Morrison, D. (1897). *How to Learn to Swim*. London, United Kingdom: Sunday School Union.
- Mortimer, G. (2008). *The Great Swim: The Epic Struggle to be the First Woman to Conquer the Channel*. London, United Kingdom: Short Books.
- Murphy, P. and Sheard, K. (2006). Boxing Blind: Unplanned Processes in the Development of Modern Boxing. *Sport in Society*, 9(4), 542-558.
- Murphy, P., Sheard, K. and Waddington, I. (2000). Figurational Sociology and its Application to Sport. In J. Coakley and E. Dunning (Eds.), *Handbook of Sports Studies* (pp.92-105). London, United Kingdom: SAGE.
- Natator (1905). *Swimming*. Belfast, Northern Ireland: Moat, Jackson & Johnston.
- Northern Counties Amateur Swimming Association (1909). *Handbook for 1909*. Liverpool, United Kingdom: Mills & Knight.
- Oppenheim, F. (1970). *The History of Swimming*. North Hollywood, CA: Swimming World.
- Orme, N. (1983). *Early British Swimming: 55 BC – AD 1719*. Exeter, United Kingdom: University of Exeter.
- Orr, J.W. (1846). *Orr's Book of Swimming; as Practised and Taught in Civilized and Savage Nations, and Used for the Preservation of Health and Life*. New York, NY: J.W. and N. Orr.
- Osmond, G. (2005). Swimming: How Australian Exactly is the Crawl? *Sport Health*, 23(2), 9-10.
- Osmond, G. (2009). Forgetting Charlie and Tums Cavill: Social Memory and Australian Swimming History. *Journal of Australian Studies*, 33(1), 93-107.
- Osmond, G. and Phillips, M.G. (2004). 'The Bloke with a Stroke': Alick Wickham, the 'Crawl' and Social Memory. *Journal of Pacific History*, 39(3), 309-324.
- Osmond, G. and Phillips, M.G. (2006). 'Look at that Kid Crawling': Race, Myth and the 'Crawl' Stroke. *Australian Historical Studies*, 37(127), 43-62.
- Parker, C. (2000). Improving the "Condition" of the People: The Health of Britain and the Provision of Public Baths 1840-1870. *The Sports Historian*, 20(2), 24-42.
- Parker, C. (2001). The Rise of Competitive Swimming, 1840-1878. *The Sports Historian*, 21(2), 58-72.

- Parker, C. (2003). *An Urban Historical Perspective: Swimming A Recreational and Competitive Pursuit 1840 to 1914*. (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis). University of Stirling, United Kingdom.
- Parker, C. (2010). Swimming: The 'Ideal' Sport for Nineteenth-century British Women. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 27(4), 675-689.
- Parratt, C.M. (1989). Athletic "Womanhood": Exploring Sources for Female Sport in Victorian and Edwardian England. *Journal of Sport History*, 16(2), 140-157.
- Parratt, C.M. (1994). From the History of Women in Sport to Women's Sport History: A Research Agenda. In D.M. Costa and S.R. Guthrie (Eds.), *Women and Sport: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (pp.5-14). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods*. (3rd ed.). London, United Kingdom: SAGE.
- Pearce, P.H. (1868). *A Treatise and Poem on Swimming*. London, United Kingdom: Roberts.
- Pearce, P.H. (1869). *The Warrior's Swimming Book, and Ladies' Guide: Including the Poem on Waterloo; Queen Victoria's Reign; Death and Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, etc., in Two Parts*. London, United Kingdom: J.H. Roberts.
- Percey, W. (1658). *The Compleat Swimmer: Or, the Art of Swimming: Demonstrating the Rules and Practice thereof, in an Exact, Plain and Easie Method. Necessary to be Known and Practised by All who Studie or Desire their own Preservation*. London, England: J.C. for Henry Fletcher.
- Pettigrew, J.B. (1873). *Animal Locomotion or Walking, Swimming and Flying, with a Discussion on Aeronautics*. London, United Kingdom: Henry S. King.
- Phillips, M.G. (2008). *Swimming Australia: One Hundred Years*. Sydney, Australia: University of New South Wales Press.
- Platt, J. (1981). Evidence and Proof in Documentary Research: 1. Some Specific Problems of Documentary Research. *Sociological Review*, 29(1), 31-52.
- Polley, M. (2007). *Sports History: A Practical Guide*. Basingstoke, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Porteous, J.D. (1977). *Canal Ports: The Urban Achievement of the Canal Age*. London, United Kingdom: Academic Press.
- Prior, L. (2003). *Using Documents in Social Research*. London, United Kingdom: SAGE.
- Quilley, S. and Loyal, S. (2004). Towards a 'central theory': the scope and relevance of the sociology of Norbert Elias. In S. Loyal and S. Quilley (Eds.), *The Sociology of*

- Norbert Elias* (pp.1-22). Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Richardson, C. (1857). *Instructions on the Art of Swimming*. London, United Kingdom: James Ridgway.
- Rigauer, B. (1981). *Sport and Work*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Rigauer, B. (1993). Sport and the Economy: A Developmental Perspective. In E. Dunning, J. Maguire and R. Pearton (Eds.), *The Sports Process: A Comparative and Developmental Approach* (pp.281-306). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Rigauer, B. (2000). Marxist Theories. In J. Coakley and E. Dunning (Eds.), *Handbook of Sports Studies* (pp.28-47). London, United Kingdom: SAGE.
- Ritchie, J. and Spencer, L. (1994). Qualitative Data Analysis for Applied Policy Research. In A. Bryman and R.G. Burgess (Eds.), *Analyzing Qualitative Data* (pp.173-194). London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Robinson, L. (2007). *Regionalisation – Change in the Amateur Swimming Association*. Loughborough, United Kingdom: Institute of Sport and Leisure Policy, Loughborough University.
- Roy, S.C., Faulkner, G. and Finlay, S. (2007). Hard or Soft Searching? Electronic Database Versus Hand Searching in Media Research. *Forum: Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 8(3). Retrieved from <http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/3-07/07-3-20-e.htm>
- Salzmann, C.G. (1800). *Gymnastics for Youth: Or A Practical Guide to Healthful and Amusing Exercises for the Use of Schools*. London, United Kingdom: J. Johnson.
- Sarantakos, S. (2005). *Social Research*. (3rd ed.). Basingstoke, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Scott, J. (1990). *A Matter of Record: Documentary Sources in Social Research*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Polity Press.
- Sears, E.S. (2001). *Running through the Ages*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company.
- Sheard, K. (1997). Aspects of Boxing in the Western ‘Civilizing Process’. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 32(1), 31-57.
- Sheard, K. (1999). A Twitch in Time Saves Nine: Birdwatching, Sport, and Civilizing Processes. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 16(3), 181-205.
- Sheard, K. (2004). Boxing in the Western Civilizing Process. In E. Dunning, D. Malcolm and I. Waddington (Eds.), *Sport Histories: Figurational Studies of the Development of Modern Sports* (pp.15-30). Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.

- Sinclair, A. (1894). *Swimming*. London, United Kingdom: George Routledge & Sons.
- Sinclair, A. and Henry, W. (1893). *Swimming*. London, United Kingdom: Longmans, Green, and Co.
- Sleeman, P. (2002). Archives and Statistics. In N. Ó Dochartaigh (Ed.), *The Internet Research Handbook: A Practical Guide for Students and Researchers in the Social Sciences* (pp.220-227). London, United Kingdom: SAGE.
- Smith, C. (1997). Control of the Female Body: Physical Training at Three New Zealand Girls' High Schools, 1880s-1920s. *Sporting Traditions*, 13(2), 59-71.
- Smith, J. (2005). *Liquid Assets: The Lidos and Open Air Swimming Pools of Britain*. London, United Kingdom: English Heritage.
- Smith, M.A. (1983). Social Usages of the Public Drinking House: Changing Aspects of Class and Leisure. *British Journal of Sociology*, 34(3), 367-385.
- Smith, S. (2004). Clay Shooting: Civilization in the Line of Fire. In E. Dunning, D. Malcolm and I. Waddington (Eds.), *Sport Histories: Figurational Studies of the Development of Modern Sports* (pp.137-152). Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Southern Counties Amateur Swimming Association (1898). *1898 Handbook*. London, United Kingdom.
- Sprawson, C. (1992). *Haunts of the Black Masseur: The Swimmer as Hero*. London, United Kingdom: Vintage.
- Stebbins, L.F. (2006). *Student Guide to Research in the Digital Age: How to Locate and Evaluate Information Sources*. Westport, CT: Libraries Unlimited.
- Stevens, Captain (1845). *Captain Steven's System of Swimming*. (2nd ed.). London, United Kingdom: Biggs and Son.
- Stokvis, R. (1992). Sports and Civilization: Is Violence the Central Problem? In E. Dunning and C. Rojek (Eds.), *Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process: Critique and Counter-Critique* (pp.121-136). Basingstoke, United Kingdom: Macmillan.
- Stokvis, R. (2005). The Civilizing Process Applied to Sports: A Response to Dominic Malcolm. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 40(1), 111-114.
- Stout, G. (2009). *Young Woman and the Sea: How Trudy Ederle Conquered the English Channel and Inspired the World*. New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Strutt, J. (1801). *Glig-Gamena Angel Deod, or, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*. London, United Kingdom.

- Terret, T. (1995). Professional Swimming in England before the Rise of Amateurism, 1837-75. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 12(1), 18-32.
- Tester, K. (1989). The Pleasure of the Rich is the Labour of the Poor: Some Comments on Norbert Elias' "An Essay on Sport and Violence". *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 2(2), 161-172.
- Theberge, N. and Birrell, S. (1994). The Sociological Study of Women and Sport. In D.M. Costa and S.R. Guthrie (Eds.), *Women and Sport: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (pp.323-330). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Thevenot, M. (1699). *The Art of Swimming*. London, England: Dan Brown, D. Midwinter, T. Leigh and Robert Knaplock.
- Torney, J.A. (1950). *Swimming*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Tranter, N. (1998). *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain, 1750-1914*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Trusler, J. (1791). *The Progress of Man and Society*. London, United Kingdom: Literary Press.
- Twitchen, A. (2004). The Influence of State Formation Processes on the Early Development of Motor Racing. In E. Dunning, D. Malcolm and I. Waddington (Eds.), *Sport Histories: Figurational Studies of the Development of Modern Sports* (pp.121-136). Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Vamplew, W. (1988). *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain, 1875-1914*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Vamplew, W. (2007). Empiricist Versus Sociological History: Some Comments on the 'Civilizing Process'. *Sport in History*, 27(2), 161-171.
- van Bottenburg, M. (2001). *Global Games*. Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- van Bottenburg, M. and Salome, L. (2010). The Indoorisation of Outdoor Sports: An Exploration of the Rise of Lifestyle Sports in Artificial Settings. *Leisure Studies*, 29(2), 143-160.
- van Krieken, R. (1998). *Norbert Elias*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- van Leeuwen, T.A.P. (1998). *The Springboard in the Pond: An Intimate History of the Swimming Pool*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.
- Vertinsky, P. (1990). *The Eternally Wounded Woman: Women, Doctors and Exercise in the Late Nineteenth Century*. Manchester, United Kingdom: Manchester University Press.

- Vertinsky, P. (1994). Women, Sport, and Exercise in the 19th Century. In D.M. Costa and S.R. Guthrie (Eds.), *Women and Sport: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (pp.63-82). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Watson, K. (2000). *The Crossing: The Curious Story of the First Man to Swim the English Channel*. London, United Kingdom: Headline.
- White, A. (2004). Rugby Union Football in England: Civilizing Processes and the De-Institutionalization of Amateurism. In E. Dunning, D. Malcolm and I. Waddington (Eds.), *Sport Histories: Figurational Studies of the Development of Modern Sports* (pp.53-70). Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Wigglesworth, N. (1992). *The Social History of English Rowing*. London, United Kingdom: Frank Cass.
- Wigglesworth, N. (1996). *The Evolution of English Sport*. London, United Kingdom: Frank Cass.
- Wigglesworth, N. (2007). *The Story of Sport in England*. Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Wilkie, D. and Juba, K. (1986). *The Handbook of Swimming*. London, United Kingdom: Pelham Books.
- Wiltse, J. (2007). *Contested Waters: A Social History of Swimming Pools in America*. North Carolina, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Winterton, R. and Parker, C. (2009). 'A Utilitarian Pursuit': Swimming Education in Nineteenth-Century Australia and England. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 26(14), 2106-2125.
- Wood, J.G. (1870). *The ABC of Swimming. Being Easy Steps for Self Instruction*. London, United Kingdom: Frederick Warne.
- Yates, S.J. (2004). *Doing Social Science Research*. London, United Kingdom: SAGE.

Appendices

- Appendix A: 19th Century British Library Newspapers: Part One
- Appendix B: 19th Century British Library Newspapers: Part Two
- Appendix C: 19th Century UK Periodicals: New Readerships

Appendix A

19th Century British Library Newspapers: Part One

The following titles are included in the *19th Century British Library Newspapers: Part One* database, which was searched via numerous keywords – as outlined in Chapter 4 – during the course of this research.

Source: Gale Cengage Learning (n.d.[b]).

Appendix B

19th Century British Library Newspapers: Part Two

The following titles are included in the *19th Century British Library Newspapers: Part Two* database, which was searched via numerous keywords – as outlined in Chapter 4 – during the course of this research.

Source: Gale Cengage Learning (n.d.[c]).

Appendix C

19th Century UK Periodicals: New Readerships

The following titles are included in the *19th Century UK Periodicals: New Readerships* database, which was searched via numerous keywords – as outlined in Chapter 4 – during the course of this research.

Source: Gale Cengage Learning (n.d.[d]).